

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

New revolutionary steps in Nicaragua

By Arnie Weissberg
Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—An estimated half million Nicaraguans shouted their approval of stiff new laws establishing greater government control over the economy at a rally here July 19.

The demonstration marked the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, as well as the twentieth of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The new laws were adopted in response to a series of demonstrations by the trade unions and other mass organizations. They make it easier for the government to intervene to halt "decapitalization" (removal of capital from the country by industrialists and wealthy farmers). The new laws will also make more land available to landless peasants.

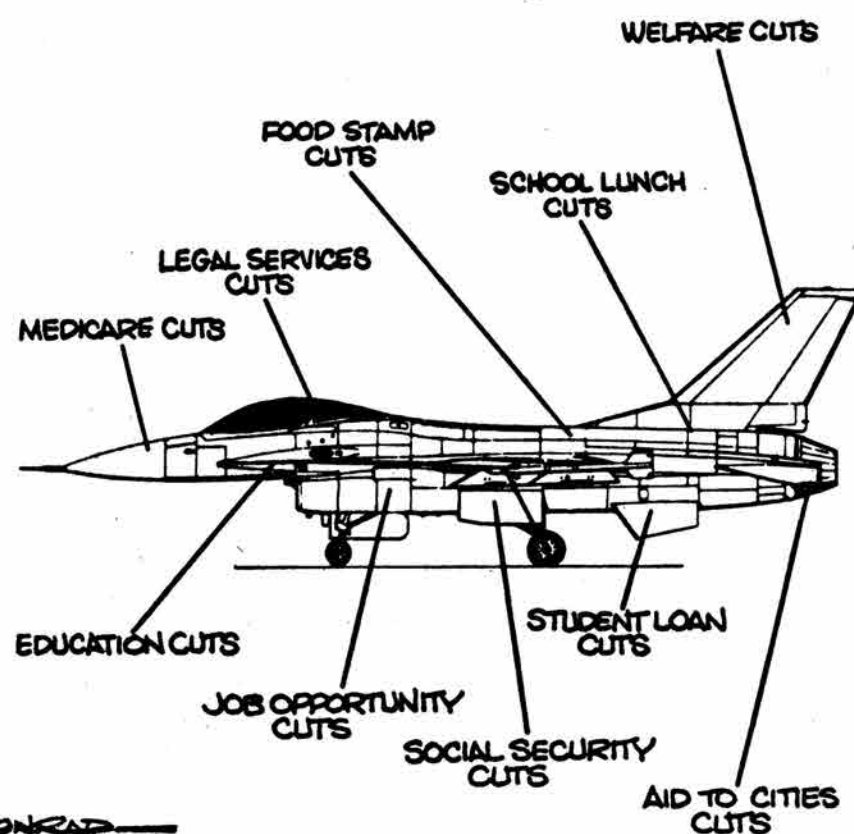
Even before dawn on July 19, the huge throng began converging on the July 19 Plaza here in the capital. Some people traveled two days to reach Managua. At 1 a.m., July 19, radio reports from around the country carried the news of departing contingents: 40,000 from the city of Chinandega, for instance. One participant estimated that 700 trucks had come from Matagalpa.

Roads near the plaza were lined with vehicles of every imaginable description and vintage. Anything that could move under its own power had been pressed into service: from jeeps and buses to dump trucks and trucks normally used to haul cotton or cattle.

In the plaza, wind-whipped flags of black and red (the FSLN colors), and blue and white (the national colors) mingled with homemade banners and signs and the blue flags of the new organization of small farmers.

At the back of the plaza hung a banner from

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Build AFL-CIO Sept. 19 rally!
Reagan budget
means misery
for millions

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A new step toward war

The Reagan administration took another step toward war July 20.

The Selective Service System sent a list of 134 names to the Justice Department "for investigation and possible prosecution."

These 134 are a fraction of the hundreds of thousands who have not registered for the draft.

The names, now secret, are being sent to local federal prosecutors.

Like Carter before him, Reagan knows that to simply announce a new draft would risk an explosion of opposition. The registration maneuver is an attempt to get around this—to condition public opinion to more readily accept a draft by inching into it a step at a time.

This latest action is another move in that direction.

Before he was elected, Reagan told voters he was opposed to draft registration. So much for campaign rhetoric.

The ruling class needs the draft. It is part and parcel of their war preparations.

According to the *New York Times*, top Pentagon officials are pushing now to resume the draft as part of "the Administration's plans for a military buildup, and to display the national will."

The war drive is key to Reagan's budget. Contrary to administration claims, there is no cut in total spending in this budget. What is involved is taking billions from programs for human needs and turning them over to the Pentagon to buy more weapons of destruction.

What's behind this insanity?

The American rulers are in trouble. They watched helplessly as workers and peasants threw out their hired hands in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Iran. They know it will not end there. Already, they see a revolution under way in El Salvador.

They can't afford this. Their profits depend on their ability to hold down peoples the world over.

The economic crisis that U.S. big business faces means that Reagan must seek to squeeze workers and farmers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America even harder than he is squeezing workers here. Revolutionary explosions are built into this situation. Reagan needs the draft to try to crush them, as earlier administrations tried to do in Vietnam.

Reagan's prosecution threat belies govern-

ment claims that registration is proceeding smoothly. So do the latest official—and very inflated—figures. They claim that 97 percent of the first group—those born in 1961—registered, while 87 percent of the next group signed up, and only 70 percent of the latest—those born in 1963—have registered.

The National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement that said in part:

"The move to begin prosecuting non-registrants is an attempt to intimidate opponents of the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"According to the *New York Times*, 'Reagan believes that resuming the draft . . . would lead to public unrest comparable to that in the 60s and 70s.' We must make it clear that even moves such as this one, to prosecute non-registrants, will be met with public unrest. We must demand:

"No prosecution of non-registrants! No registration! No draft! No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!"

One way to press these demands will be by supporting local actions against the draft October 5-11, which have been called for by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Polish CP feels workers' pressure

The congress of the Polish Communist Party, which ended July 20, was one more measure of the historic impact of the Solidarity movement on Polish society.

Solidarity has fought tenaciously to defend the interests of the workers and farmers against the bureaucrats and pressed for the right of working people to participate in the nation's decision-making process. The shock waves created by this movement for social progress were clearly registered at the congress.

From the time it took command in Poland, at the end of World War II, the Communist Party has acted as an association of jobholders ready to defend their privileged positions by any means necessary. The party tops shaped the ruinous governmental policies that brought Poland to its present economic and social crisis.

The views and sentiments of working people were suppressed and their needs ignored.

Solidarity has been working a profound change in that way of life. It has effectively united workers and farmers in militant struggle against the bureaucrats in Warsaw, and their big brothers in Moscow.

In the face of this movement, the governing

bureaucrats have made significant concessions. And the unity of the Polish people has sent a message to the Kremlin that the cost of military intervention would be incalculably high.

The party congress reflected the changed relationship of forces. The party officialdom felt the need to present itself as a force for "democratic renewal." This was manifested in the need to change the personnel of the leadership and adjust its methods of functioning.

For the first time since the party bureaucrats took command of the country, ordinary workers contested for delegates and many were elected.

At the convention, a central committee of 270 members was elected. Of these, some 90 percent were reported to have been elected for the first

Notice to our readers

Next week's 'Militant' will be the last issue before our vacation break. We will not publish for the following two weeks. The first issue after the break will be dated August 28.

time. This was no doubt jarring to a lot of bureaucrats who had long assumed they had sinecure.

Stanislaw Kania was reelected as first secretary of the party. But he was forced to submit to a secret ballot of all the delegates.

Moscow was not pleased by the absence of an iron bureaucratic grip at the congress. According to *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton, the Kremlin sent Kania a "frosty" message of congratulations.

But, more decisive, there were no indications that the Kremlin was moving confidently toward military intervention in Poland.

Not because the Polish masses have retreated. Precisely the opposite. Solidarity has put aside the advice of those—including U.S. officials and media—who counsel, "Don't make trouble. Don't push." It was by making it clear how determined they were to achieve their goals that the workers forced the Polish bureaucrats, as well as the ones in Moscow, to retreat.

In his report on the party congress, John Darnton describes the director of a collective farm speaking to the delegates about the inefficiency of the state agricultural apparatus.

He won applause when he declared: "There can be no democracy without food, and there can be no food without democracy."

He could well have added, and no democracy without organizations like Solidarity to organize the masses to fight for it.

For a direct report on the Polish Communist Party congress, see our next issue. We'll have a dispatch from Ernest Harsch, who is in Poland for *Intercontinental Press*.

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Solidarity's program for Poland

Workers in the United States are told that only big-business executives and government officials know enough to make the important decisions. The Polish workers know better. The 'Militant' reprints their program for solving Poland's economic problems. **Page 16.**

The Militant

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H-Block: two more near death

Protests rip south of Ireland, gov't in crisis



Militant/Marc Lichtman

By Steve Bride

British intransigence in Northern Ireland will shortly claim the lives of two more hunger strikers.

H-Block inmates Kieran Doherty and Kevin Lynch received last rites in Maze Prison over the weekend of July 20, and British officials say they are expected to die in "a matter of days."

Meanwhile, British refusal to negotiate the fate of the hunger strikers has thrown the month-old government of Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald into a crisis.

More than 17,000 protesters marched in Dublin July 18 in support of the H-Block prisoners' demands. The march erupted into violence when police attacked demonstrators after allowing nationalist leader Bernadette Devlin

McAliskey to lay a wreath at the British embassy.

The ensuing battle hospitalized at least 160 persons, 100 of whom were police officers.

The demonstration was the largest in the south of Ireland in almost a decade.

The next day, Prime Minister FitzGerald praised police for their handling of the incident.

At the same time, however, a senior official in his government charged British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with "obdurate behavior" that was "destabilizing the entire island."

British refusal to deal with the hunger strikers, said the official, would place "a question over all aspects of the British-Irish relationship in the future."

A more immediate question for Fitz-

Gerald is the future of his own government.

Anger in the south is fueled by the fact that one of the hunger strikers, Kieran Doherty, was elected to the Irish Parliament June 11. FitzGerald's coalition government holds only a slight majority in that body, which Doherty's death and a new election could endanger.

In an effort to blunt international criticism of its stance, the British government allowed a delegation from the International Red Cross to inspect conditions at Maze Prison on July 16.

Overall conditions at Maze have nothing to do with the hunger strikers' demands. They denounced the delegation as a "cosmetic gesture."

Meeting hits U.S. threats to Indochina

By Fred Murphy

NEW YORK—"We face a really critical situation at this moment," said Chan Bun Han, a young Kampuchean who had just returned from a visit to his native land, where his entire family had been wiped out during the tyrannical reign of Pol Pot between 1975 and 1979. "The United States is trying to rewrite the history of Indochina."

Chan Bun Han was speaking to a solidarity meeting of more than 100 persons here on July 10. The Militant Labor Forum, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, hosted the meeting.

Other speakers included Abe Weisburd of the Committee in Solidarity With Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos (CSVNKL); Hung Tran of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the United States; and Fred Feldman, a member of the SWP National Committee and staff writer for the *Militant*.

Feldman also pointed to U.S. imperialism's efforts to pressure the Vietnamese government to abandon the Kampuchean people to the murderous Khmer Rouge forces led by Pol Pot and aided by Peking.

"Washington wants to punish Vietnam for helping to get rid of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea and for working with a government that the Kampuchean people much prefer," Feldman said. "They want to make it possible for Pol Pot's army to go back into the country and to restore a government that Washington thinks would be more amenable to the Reagan administration."

Fresh confirmation of Washington's stance was provided in the week following the July 10 solidarity meeting, when the United Nations conference on Cambodia was held in New York. The conference—boycotted by Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and twenty-three other U.N. member nations—adopted a resolution calling for "free elections" in Kampuchea, withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, and the establishment of a U.N. "peacekeeping force."

Since the U.N. still recognizes the Khmer Rouge as the government of Kampuchea, its pretense to neutrality is hardly very convincing.

The original text of the conference resolution included a call for the disarmament of "all factions" in Kampuchea—thus equating the legitimate government in Pnom Penh with Pol Pot's murder gangs. But the final draft was even more favorable to Pol Pot. It failed to include any call whatsoever for disarming his Khmer Rouge counterrevolutionaries.

U.S. diplomats attributed this deletion to pressure from the Chinese representatives, but it was fully in accord with Washington's own objectives. During a recent visit to China, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig "urged China to increase arms deliveries to anti-Vietnamese resistance forces in Kampuchea," the June 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported.

But the U.N. conference had what even the *New York Times* called "an air of unreality." At the July 10 solidarity meeting, Fred Feldman had explained why this would be so:

"The United States got the United Nations to ask the Vietnamese to leave [Kampuchea]. They got the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to ask the Vietnamese to leave. But their big problem is that they can't get any of the Kampucheans to ask the Vietnamese to leave. In fact, the Kampucheans insist that the Vietnamese stay until the danger is over."

Abe Weisburd of the CSVNKL reported that during a visit to Kampuchea in May 1980, he was told repeatedly by Kampucheans that "the Vietnamese saved our lives."

"I would have been dead" had the Vietnamese not aided in ousting Pol Pot's regime, one Kampuchean told Weisburd.

The reason for such sentiments was obvious from the display of color slides from Kampuchea that Chan Bun Han

presented to the July 10 meeting. On the one hand were scenes of ruin and destruction, piles of human bones unearthed from mass graves, and the torture chambers of Pol Pot's main prison on the outskirts of Pnom Penh.

The slides showed that legacy is now being replaced: there were scenes of children in classrooms, football games, dancing, religious festivals, clowns, weddings, Buddhist ceremonies, crowded marketplaces.

"In just the past year our country was able to produce 1.2 million tons of rice," Chan Bun Han said. "And now we are nearly self-sufficient again."

But the scars left by Pol Pot's tyranny are still deep. Among the color slides were drawings made by children in orphanages that depicted massacres and the 1975 forced evacuation of Pnom Penh by Pol Pot's forces.

Hung Tran of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the United States outlined the progress achieved in the five years since the April 1975 victory over U.S. imperialism and its local puppets, and the problems his country still faced. Vietnam—"a country at peace but threatened by war"—faces three central tasks, Hung Tran said: to strive to build socialism throughout the country, to safeguard national independence, and "to do our internationalist duty toward Kampuchea, Laos, and other peoples fighting for their liberation."

In carrying out these tasks, Tran said, "we look to our friends, especially those in the United States."

Earlier, Fred Feldman had pointed to the "debt of gratitude humanity owes the revolutions in Indochina":

"In this country they inspired Blacks, women, youth, and working people with a new willingness to fight for justice and their rights; they showed the peoples of the world that change and progress can be made and freedom can be won if you are willing to stick it out. Above all, they made the American people aware

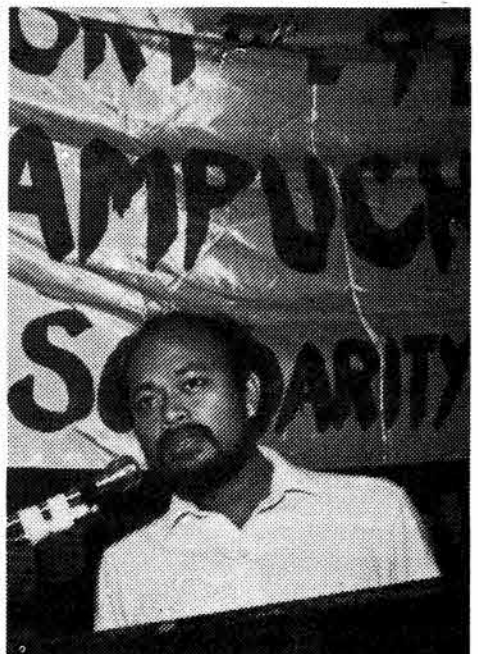
that we can stop the warmakers."

"If the U.S. has not been able to start a 'new Vietnam,'" Feldman continued, "it's because of the sacrifices the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Kampuchean people made and the antiwar sentiment that they inspired here."

"So we have a continued duty of solidarity. What can we do? I think everyone here should support the activities of groups like the CSVNKL and others that are working to get out the truth and to aid Indochina. We have to demand that the embargo be lifted, that all military threats be dropped, and that massive food aid be provided."

"Despite great adversity," Feldman concluded, "the peoples of Indochina are winning. And we must support them, because every gain they make helps us in the United States to make this a country where the battle against poverty, inequality, and injustice will also be won."

From Intercontinental Press



CHAN BUN HAN

Militant/Lou Howort

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Membership vote set

Postal service, unions reach tentative pact

By Vivian Sahner

A tentative contract agreement was reached July 21 between the U.S. Postal Service and leaders of the American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers.

It was announced that the three-year settlement includes a wage increase of \$300 in each year of the contract plus a yearly productivity bonus of \$350. The first year of the contract includes an additional \$150 bonus.

The agreement maintains the cost-of-living clause without a limit that was in the 1978 contract.

The Postal Service also would continue to pay 75 percent of the health insurance premiums for the half-million members of the two unions.

The tentative contract was reached after a thirty-hour bargaining session that went sixteen hours beyond the contract deadline. Union officials, who extended the contract hour by hour during the negotiations, warned that their members were prepared to walk out if a satisfactory offer wasn't made.

The government began negotiations by demanding that the postal workers accept a wage freeze, a limit on their cost-of-living (COLA) clause, and a reduction in government payments of medical benefits from 75 to 25 percent of the cost.

In a move aimed at turning public opinion against the unions, postal officials claimed that any concessions to the workers would result in a forty-five-cent first-class stamp by 1984.

Last-minute offer

The postal service, which blocked negotiations altogether for seven weeks with appeals to the National Labor Relations Board, only came up with a second offer a few hours before the contract deadline.

This was quickly turned down by the union leadership. "They came in with a package that was nothing more than rearranging the furniture on the Titanic," declared Vincent Sombrotto, president of the Letter Carriers. "If their attitude doesn't change, there's no question that we'll have a nationwide postal strike."

A few hours later the two unions announced a tentative agreement with the postal service and told workers to stay on the job. But when the Postal Service gave the unions its proposals in written form, the union leaders said they were different from the verbal agreements



Postal union shop steward discusses proposed new contract outside central New York City post office July 22.

and rejected them. Negotiations resumed.

At a press conference announcing the final tentative agreement in Washington, D.C., Moe Biller, president of the APWU, said that the unions did not get everything they were asking for. "We didn't . . . and that's a fact. However, we got enough for me to say it's a good contract, and I recommend approval."

One of the hottest items of dispute in the negotiations was the government's demand for a limit or "cap" on cost-of-living payment—a demand they were forced to back down on. Sombrotto brought laughs at the press conference when he put a Letter Carriers cap on Postmaster General William Bolger's head and quipped "This is the only cap in this contract."

The new contract will be voted on by members of the two unions and mailed ballots will be counted in about thirty days, union officials said.

At the news conference it was also announced that the 63,000-member Rural Carriers Union had reached a tentative agreement. No details were given.

The 39,000-member Mail Handlers union announced that they were unable to reach an agreement and would submit to binding arbitration.

Reaction by APWU and NALC members to the tentative settlement has been cautious.

"We have to look at the whole proposed contract . . . the pay package is modest but I think it's acceptable," William Sainato, APWU regional executive

vice-president, told the Newark *Star-Ledger*.

"I'm not too pleased with it," said Jerry Monzillo, president of the New Jersey APWU. "These bonuses are not part of regular salary or pension."

"I'm not going to support ratification without studying it further. There are too many intangibles."

In Miami, mixed reactions were reported.

Matthew Rose, president of Letter Carriers Local 1071, told the *Militant*, "I have to withhold determination until I read the contract. The COLA and bonuses may be alright but I'm more concerned about the work rules."

'I want to know our rights'

"What's going to happen at work the first day of the contract and each day during the next three years? The same supervisors are going to be there—I want to know what our rights are."

Rose blasted Bolger's claim that the postal service needed a two-cent hike for the first-class stamps to pay for the new contract.

"There is an overflow of management in the postal service, one supervisor for every seven workers . . . they should get rid of them and quit trying to pin the cost of postal service onto the backs of the union membership."

Judy Johnson, president of the APWU in Miami, called the settlement a "sell-out." The bonus payments, which would not become part of workers' pay rates, she said, were a step back.

Reactions at the main post office in Manhattan were also mixed. Going into work on July 22, most of those who spoke with *Militant* reporters said they needed to know more before deciding on the contract. A few commented, "It stinks." "It's lousy."

One shop steward said that most workers in her area thought the wage increases were weak but that keeping an uncapped COLA was very important. She thought the agreement would be ratified.

Harry Edwards agreed. An APWU member for ten years, Edwards told the *Militant* "The main thing we wanted to do was stop Bolger from taking away benefits and wrecking the union."

"When I came here in 1971 I was told I didn't have to join the union. Now we are much stronger. Personally I think we should have one big postal union—it would help us win even better contracts down the road."

Postal unions: what's been gained in 11 years

By Ken Evenhuis

Postal workers went on strike for the first time in American history in the spring of 1970, almost 200 years after the founding of the postal system. Today, postal workers are fighting to preserve the gains we've made in the past eleven years.

Perhaps the most important gain has been in the union consciousness of the postal workers themselves.

Following the explosive wildcat strikes of 1970, postal workers for the first time won the right to bargain collectively over the full range of wages, hours, and conditions of employment. Although this provided some improvement in the basic wages of postal workers, the postal service soon mount-

ed a massive attack on working conditions.

They instituted a hiring freeze and a speed-up campaign that drastically increased the length of carriers' routes, developed some of the most mind-deadening keypunch assembly lines imaginable for clerks, and dramatically increased the overtime work for everybody.

There has been a steady increase in the ratio of non-productive supervisors in relation to the active work force in order to enforce this campaign.

These conditions forced workers to fight back—to enforce what protection we have in our basic contract.

Shop stewards, who previously carried out routine union administrative tasks, are now leading sometimes bitter battles in thousands of postal facilities around the country. This has produced a significant turnover of shop stewards—to workers willing to offer leadership in this fight.

Many workers were hoping that we would get some relief with improvements in the 1978 contract. However, the proposed contract that year put a cap on our cost-of-living clause that would have been exhausted after only six months of a three-year contract and

offered no improvements in work conditions.

That proposal was soundly defeated by a membership vote. The final contract in 1978 was decided by arbitration. The cost-of-living cap was removed but a clause was included that made new workers subject to layoff until they have six years of seniority.

Although there has yet been no layoffs, this clause showed how dangerous arbitration settlements can be.

The national leadership of the two major postal workers unions, the American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers, were already discredited because of their hostility to the 1970 strikes. But they had for the most part been able to keep their positions with a little chair shuffling. The attempt to sell us the bad contract in 1978 proved to be the last straw.

Shortly after that agreement a change of leadership was voted in in both unions. The Letter Carriers elected a slate headed by Vincent Sombrotto. The APWU elected Moe Biller as president. Both of these men were local leaders in the New York area, which spearheaded the 1970 strikes.

This year the postal service appeared to have decided to see how far they could push back the ranks of the postal workers.

Several months ago, when negotiations on the new contract were scheduled to begin, management refused to even sit down at the same table. They sought to have the unions decertified through a transparent legal maneuver with the National Labor Relations Board. This was quickly dismissed by the board, but it was undoubtedly intended to be a provocation to the unions. Perhaps the unions would call an early strike with the members unprepared? Or at least carry on a campaign of theats and bravado that would make them seem a little too radical.

Instead the APWU and the NALC developed a joint campaign to expose the bad faith of the postmaster general and involve the membership in action to force the beginnings of negotiations. This culminated in the Postal Solidarity Day activities on June 25.

Once management was forced to sit at the table, negotiations went nowhere for several weeks. The government seemed determined to test the capabilities of the union officers and the reaction of the membership.

Ken Evenhuis is a member of National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 24 in Los Angeles. He has been a postal worker for ten years. In 1971 the postal service tried to fire Evenhuis because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. After protests, he won back his job with back pay.

Israeli regime's criminal raid on Beirut

By Janice Lynn

In an act of premeditated mass murder, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin ordered his U.S.-supplied warplanes into action over Beirut July 17. The Israeli jets rained bombs on heavily populated neighborhoods in the Lebanese capital. At least 300 people were killed and 800 more wounded.

This outrageous action was a sharp escalation of the Zionist regime's militaristic course, which threatens to plunge the entire Middle East into a new war.

That same day, Israeli warplanes also struck at Palestinian refugee camps on the outskirts of Beirut; attacked the Mediterranean port city of Sidon; bombed portions of Lebanon's main coastal road; destroyed three bridges in southern Lebanon; and hit a Palestinian refugee camp outside Tyre.

The Israeli aggression didn't stop there. As Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Reagan's special envoy Philip Habib were meeting in Jerusalem July 19, Israeli ground troops crossed the border into Lebanon. Paratroop and seaborne commando forces, along with Israeli aircraft, attacked in eighteen different areas in southern Lebanon. At least a dozen people were killed in the city of Sidon, and many more elsewhere.

These criminal acts followed a week of Israeli bombing raids against Palestinian towns and villages along the coast of southern Lebanon and further inland. Almost sixty people were killed in these raids; five bridges destroyed; and numerous dwellings leveled.

Shoes and toys

In the Beirut raid, the first air strike there since 1974, Israeli bombs totally flattened one seven-story apartment building and seriously damaged other buildings near the crowded downtown area and Arab University.

The Israeli military command claimed its attacks were aimed at destroying the headquarters of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat and the offices of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

But reporters touring the area confirmed that it had been apartment houses that had been bombed. One building had completely collapsed, killing most of the families who resided there. The vast majority of the dead were women and children of Palestinian and Lebanese families living in the predominantly Muslim neighborhood.



Civilian victims in the streets of Beirut

Many of the hundreds wounded were children.

The worse hit street, described by *New York Times* Beirut correspondent William Farrell, "was a scene of collapsed dwellings, eerily listing balconies and ruptured pavements littered with thousands of household effects—clothing, shoes, children's toys, broken stereo equipment—all of it coated with a thin gray layer of dust and dirt."

Bombing civilians

The bombing of Beirut coincided with a declaration by Begin that Israel's bombing attacks would be carried out against Palestinian political centers in Lebanon, even if this meant bombing densely populated civilian areas.

"We shall . . . continue to attack terrorist bases and headquarters, even if they are purposefully located in the vicinity of or within civilian concentrations," Begin warned July 17, as his bombers hammered away in Beirut.

Of course, the victims of Israel's indiscriminate bombing raids, which have gone on for more than fifteen years, have consistently been Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The Zionist regime defines any mass of Palestinians as a terrorist concentration, any Palestinian farm or factory or meeting hall as a military target.

On July 12, for example, Israeli planes bombed the town of Damur, twelve miles south of Beirut. It is an area crowded with Palestinian refugees.

A visitor to the bomb-pitted and battered town several days later noted the still smoldering ruins of a refrigerator factory that had been hit.

"Israel always says they attack military positions," one sixty-year old Palestinian farmer pointed out. "Go and see the refrigerator factory."

On July 16, Israel's chief of staff,

Lieut. Gen. Rafael Eytan, declared that bridges and roads, even if mainly used by Lebanese civilians, would also be prime Israeli targets.

The destruction of the Qasmiya Bridge over the Litani River, and the bombing of seven other bridges and large portions of the major highway connecting northern and southern Lebanon, was intended to strangle the Lebanese economy and prevent the people from earning a living.

There is a large volume of farm produce, at the height of the harvest, that cannot be moved. And a serious shortage of gasoline exists, as northern Lebanon is left without direct access to the major fuel supply in the south. This was compounded by an Israeli gunboat attack on the Sidon oil refinery.

"If others suffer," Eytan callously declared, "they should press the terrorists to stop their attacks on us." He was referring to Palestinian attacks in retaliation for the Israeli bombing raids. On July 15, Palestinian rockets were fired into northern Israeli towns, in which three persons were killed. This was the first time any Israeli was killed in a Palestinian rocket attack since 1978.

The Israeli leaders, taking their cue from the Reagan administration's anti-Soviet propaganda, claim they are attempting to stop "an endless stream" of weapons they say are pouring in for the Palestinian liberation fighters from the Soviet Union and Libya.

But it is the Israeli regime that is armed to the teeth. And Washington is its prime military supplier.

In fact, the very day of the air attack on Beirut, the Reagan administration had been planning to announce it was resuming delivery of F-16 fighter bombers to Israel.

With the new bombings, Reagan was obliged to again temporarily postpone delivery.

'We will go on resisting'

"We will survive no matter what Begin or Reagan want," declared PLO spokesperson Mahmoud Labadi from Beirut, following the bombing raid. "We will go on resisting no matter what kind of sophisticated weapons they use."

"Maybe they can break our hearts with our dead women and children, but they will never break our determination and our will."

With the setting up of the Zionist state of Israel in 1948, the Palestinian people were driven from their homeland. Today there are some 400,000 to 500,000 Palestinians who live as destitute refugees in camps and makeshift dwellings in Lebanon. Those Palestinians who remain in Israel live as second-class citizens, discriminated against both economically and socially.

As long as this situation prevails, the Palestinian people will continue to fight against their oppression. And Israel, surrounded by people it has expelled and oppressed, will continually lash out at its victims as the Palestinians carry on their struggle for their liberation.

Thus, a perpetual state of war is built into the foundations of the Zionist state. The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians has sharpened along with the

overall rise of the anti-imperialist movement in the Mideast.

The U.S. government backs this colonial regime and its oppression of the Palestinian people. And it uses the Zionist state for its own purposes—as a permanent military base against the Arab revolution.

Israeli economic crisis

But there is another force also propelling the Zionist regime along its militaristic course. The worldwide capitalist crisis has hit Israel hard. The current inflation rate is 133 percent per year and is expected to rise above 300 percent by the end of the year. The Israeli foreign debt has reached a staggering \$21 billion.

The Israeli rulers, like the imperialist rulers throughout the world, are driven by this crisis to seek new markets, new sources of raw materials and cheap labor, and new areas of investment. They would like to repeat the experience of 1967, when their expansion through war led to a temporary economic boom.

But precisely when the Israeli rulers need to go to war to solve their economic crisis, the Israeli workers are showing greater resistance to having to sacrifice for the war budget. They are growing increasingly wary of the government's intentions.

Some 150,000-250,000 workers—including many Arab workers—poured out on May 1, 1980, to protest against inflation and cutbacks. This demonstration, called by the Israeli Labor Party, turned into a massive display of the workers' anger and dissatisfaction.

This sentiment was also reflected during the crisis provoked by Begin in May over the presence of Syrian missiles in Lebanon. Despite Begin's attempt to whip up a war fever, there were strikes by teachers, and other public workers in defiance of the government.

Washington denounced

The Israeli bombing of Beirut came only four days after U.S. State Department representative Robert McFarlane had been in Jerusalem meeting with Prime Minister Begin.

As a result of his meetings, on July 13 the U.S. and Israel had issued a statement saying that "any misunderstanding" that might have arisen over Israel's raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor had been "clarified to the satisfaction of both sides," thus paving the way for resuming delivery of the U.S. fighter-bombers.

This statement and the meetings with Begin took place when Israel had already resumed its bombing raids in southern Lebanon.

Meanwhile, Reagan's special envoy Philip Habib, who has been shuttling back and forth between Tel Aviv, Beirut, and Syria, ostensibly to seek a peaceful solution to problems in the Mideast, was also meeting with Begin.

The U.S. State Department issued a statement July 17 that pointedly contained no condemnation of Israel.

"The Habib mission has given the Israelis the green light for this," commented a Democratic Front spokesperson as he stood before the smoldering ruins in Beirut.

Palestinian and Lebanese representatives have indicated they hold the U.S. government, as Israel's arms supplier, responsible for the bombing raids into Lebanon.

The Syrian newspaper *Tishrin* declared, "The Arab states must confront the United States in kind, by taking measures against it and by holding it responsible as a partner in this aggression."

The Israeli bombing was also condemned in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt.

The course of the U.S.-backed Israeli regime threatens to lead to new wars that endanger all humanity.

From Intercontinental Press

Release Iranian socialists!

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urgently requested to send telegrams to Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai calling for the release from prison of two anti-imperialist fighters and an end to all executions of revolutionary youth in Iran.

Faranak Zahraie and Monavar Shir Ali—two young women workers at the Ray-O-Vac battery factory in Tehran and members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE)—were arrested on July 4 and taken to Evin prison.

They have been falsely accused of starting a strike in the factory and with being members of a Maoist political group.

Hundreds of participants in a July 19 demonstration in New York in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean signed a petition calling for the release of the Iranian socialists and a halt to the executions. Among the signers were Puerto Rican liberation fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda, who spent more than twenty-five years in a U.S. prison

because of his support of the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence.

More than a dozen public transportation workers in New York City and several railroad workers in the New York-New Jersey region have sent telegrams calling for the two socialists' release.

Activists in the Irish independence struggle have also been sending telegrams. Recalling the act of solidarity with the Irish struggle against British imperialism when Churchill Street in Tehran was renamed Bobby Sands Street, these Irish activists called for the release of the two anti-imperialist women.

Among those signing this statement was Belfast City Council member Fergus O'Hare, also a member of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee.

Messages can be sent to Prime Minister Rajai at the Majlis Building, Tehran, Iran, with copies to Kargar, Box #43/174, Post Area 14, Tehran, Iran and *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, Saadi Jonubi Street, Tehran, Iran.

Millions will suffer under 1982 budget

By Stu Singer

The 1982 federal budget will go into effect in October. This budget has two features. It includes the largest amount of military spending of any budget in history, and it represents the biggest cutbacks in social spending programs ever imposed.

The extent of the cutbacks has not been made clear by the news media or the government. The Social Security cuts, for example, the first in the history of the program, are posed as an unavoidable choice between lower benefits or higher taxes. Public opinion polls ask only which of these two losses people prefer.

The devastating scope of the cuts is rarely spelled out in one place so the victims can evaluate it. Divisions among workers, between those employed and unemployed, working and retired, male and female, Black and white, with and without children, are played to the maximum.

Divisions that existed in the past within the U.S. ruling class over how to proceed with the cuts have largely been resolved. The budget is supported by both capitalist political parties.

The budget cuts will wipe out gains that generations of workers have considered to be rights.

The weakest will suffer the most. Children and old people will take the biggest blows. The targets are food and education, medical care and safety, civil rights and jobs, retirement and unemployment benefits.

The cuts multiply. Workers will lose jobs from cuts in one program and will be excluded from unemployment pay, and food, medical, and housing payments by other cuts.

Necessities of life will be taken away from millions of people.

\$37.1 billion in cuts

This is what the budget cuts approved by the House of Representatives will do:

- take away transportation and health care services for 250,000 aged, blind, and disabled; stop "meals-on-wheels" for 80,000 aged and disabled people; end day-care services for 120,000 children;
- drop three million students from school lunch programs;
- deny college loans to 1.35 million college students;
- cut Social Security benefits to 1.2 million college students;
- raise rents 20 percent for 10 million residents of public housing;
- cut 500,000 women and their children from maternal nutrition programs;
- deprive 322,000 disabled people from rehabilitation services;
- take 2 million families off food stamps;
- eliminate hundreds of thousands of government-funded jobs.

These cruel attacks on American working people will cut about \$37 billion from the federal budget.

Almost that entire amount will be added to the already swollen military budget.

Health care

Medicare and Medicaid will be cut sharply. These programs started in 1966. Medicaid covers mostly children and Medicare, old people. Both were limited to start with, far worse than the socialized medical care in other imperialist countries.

But winning these programs resulted in dramatic health improvements in the U.S. They are credited with reducing the infant mortality rate from twenty-five to fifteen per 1,000 live births between 1965 and 1976. Medicare is partly responsible for extending average life expectancy from seventy-nine to eighty-one years from 1960 to 1977.

About 22 million people now receive Medicaid. Millions more are covered under Medicare. They won't stop getting

sick when their access to medical care is cut.

Black lung

The Black Lung Benefits Program was set up under the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. Winning this program required a giant fight by miners against the coal operators and their politicians. The mouthpieces for the operators are starting up their barrage of lies claiming that black lung disease doesn't exist, that miners' lungs are ruined because they smoke cigarettes.

When the Reagan budget cuts against black lung benefits were first announced, the United Mine Workers organized a two-day nationwide walkout and a demonstration of 8,000 miners in Washington in protest.

But the cuts were not withdrawn.

In the June issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, UMW President Sam Church wrote that the administration proposal will virtually eliminate the Black Lung program. He said, "We cannot allow a group of government officials to undercut the mining victims. . . . We can't stop the fight. We'll never stop the fight!"

Jobs

The AFL-CIO estimates the 1982 budget will eliminate 1,260,000 jobs. These include 340,000 cut from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). These workers will not be eligible for unemployment pay.

Hundreds of thousands of other jobs will be lost by cutting federal spending on housing, transportation, mass transit, and federal civilian employment in general.

But the government is creating some new jobs: cannon fodder. It plans to add hundreds of thousands to the "volunteer" army while taking new steps toward the draft.

Take food from children

Food stamps and programs to improve child nutrition through school lunches and breakfasts and meals at day-care centers are being cut to the bone.

These are some of the cruelest cuts in the budget. They literally condemn children and poor people to undernourishment and real hunger in the richest agricultural country in the world.

The AFL-CIO estimates the cuts in child nutrition amount to \$2 billion.

The new food stamp program raises eligibility requirements and denies food stamps to strikers and their families.

In Puerto Rico, where a majority of the population gets food stamps, the effect of the cuts will be devastating.

Unemployment benefits

Extended unemployment benefits are being cut. TRA funds (Trade Adjustment Assistance), which have gone selectively to workers certified by the government as out of work because of imports, are being virtually eliminated. Payments will be no higher than unemployment compensation and paid only after regular unemployment has run out.

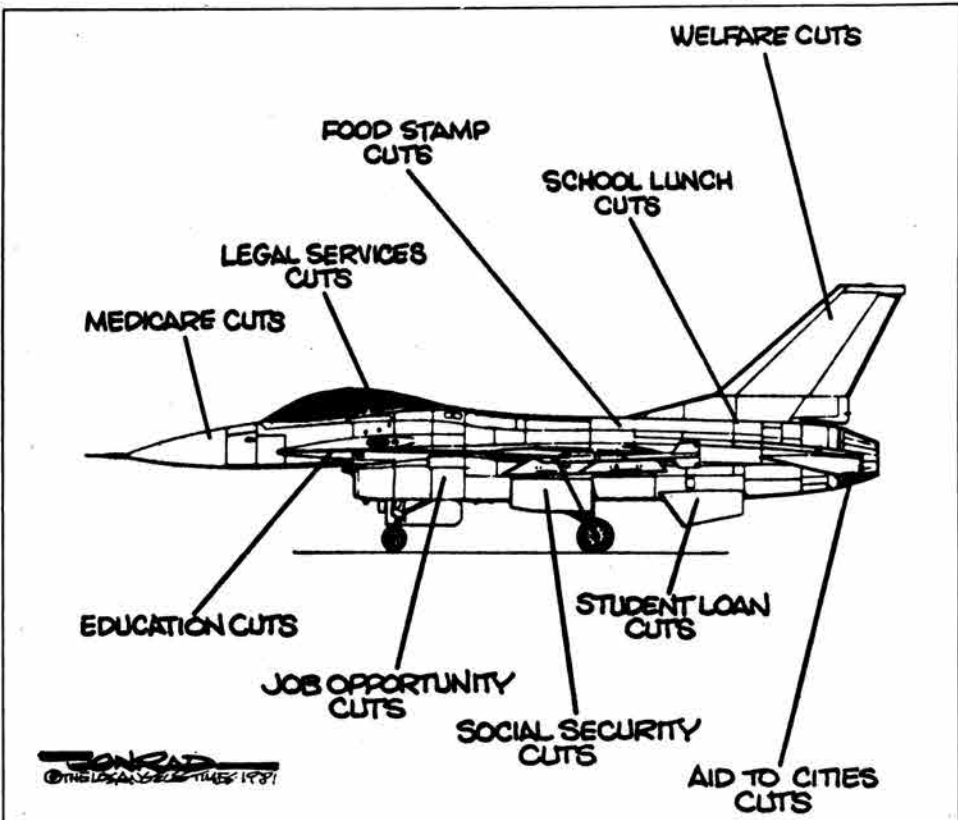
Funds to state unemployment agencies are being cut back. The AFL-CIO estimates that 5,000 of the people who are supposed to help others find jobs will be pounding the pavement themselves.

Members of the armed services will not be eligible for unemployment pay when they leave the military. This is supposed to encourage cannon fodder to reenlist.

Safety

Workers' safety on the job is threatened. Funding for the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health will be slashed. Nine percent of the OSHA inspectors, 250 people, will be eliminated. The staff of the Mine Safety

Continued on next page



Some real jobless figures

The Bureau of Labor Statistics employment figures for the second quarter of 1981 (April, May, June) give a picture of some of the targets of the budget attacks on unemployed workers.

Out of a civilian labor force of 106 million, 7.9 million are out of work and looking for jobs.

The unemployment rate for all teenagers is 19.2 percent and for Black workers 13.7 percent.

Of the almost 8 million workers actively seeking jobs, in June over 1 million had been out of work more than twenty-seven weeks. Most of them will be cut off from unemployment benefits when the budget goes into effect in October.

Buried in the labor statistics is another figure indicating that in addition to those workers listed as unemployed, there are another 5.9 million workers who want jobs but have given up looking for them.

In other words, a more accurate picture of U.S. unemployment is that there is a work force of about 112 million people ready to work; 13.8 million of them cannot get jobs.

'Save our security'

By Lester Dolphy

WASHINGTON—From 3,000 to 4,000 people demonstrated in front of the U.S. Capitol Building July 21 to protest the attacks on Social Security benefits.

The demonstrators, mostly retired workers who receive Social Security, carried signs reading, "Save our Security," "Save our COLA," "Don't Mess with Medicaid."

The protest was organized by the National Council of Senior Citizens and was backed by many trade unions. Signs indicated the participation of the Garment Workers (ILGWU), Auto Workers (UAW districts 8 and 9), Service Employees (SEIU), United Electrical, and Hospital Workers 1199.

The rally included speeches opposing the cuts by politicians and a statement of support from the National Organization for Women. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland spoke, and urged participation in the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration.

The union movement is opposing both cuts in Social Security benefits and increases in Social Security taxes.

Build Sept. 19 protest

The AFL-CIO is getting a very enthusiastic response to its call for the "Solidarity Day" protest set for September 19 in Washington.

Top AFL-CIO officials including President Lane Kirkland have been urging support for the action at talks and meetings around the country.

Almost every union newspaper has had articles about the action. Kirkland has asked each affiliated union to name a co-ordinator to "ensure a maximum turnout."

The allies of labor are being urged to participate including "Leading civil rights and women's organizations, senior citizens groups, church groups and scores of public interest organizations concerned over the severity of the administration's proposed cutbacks," reports the July issue of *Steeltabor*.

Significantly, both the NAACP and Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH have endorsed the action.

Across the country, union locals and districts, and county federations of labor have reserved buses and printed leaflets for the action.

Unionists from a number of different areas report a positive attitude among labor bodies, extending right up to the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, toward building the protest. Initiatives from rank and file union members have been welcomed.

The importance of the action is also cutting across differences between opposing currents within the union movement.

In Steelworkers District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area, for example, there was just a bitterly fought contest for the office of district director. But at the recent district convention, incumbent Director Jim Balanoff and incoming Director Jack Parton joined together in vowing to put the district's resources into building a big turnout for September 19.

—S.S.

...new revolutionary steps in Nicaragua

Continued from front page
the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). It read: "After twenty years of struggle, the working class swears to advance toward socialism."

New laws

Explaining that the leadership of the revolution "could not continue to turn a deaf ear" to the demands of the workers and peasants, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, read off the proposed measures.

He first announced a new law against decapitalization, which enables the government to intervene upon a complaint by the workers, placing the enterprise under government control while the charges that capital is being removed from the country are investigated. In addition, the workers making the charge are to be protected against reprisals. The new law also adds to the list of practices that will be considered decapitalizing.

Ortega then read a list of fourteen enterprises to be nationalized, expropriated, immediately. All had already been intervened following charges of decapitalization. Cheers greeted each name.

As Ortega reached the end of the list, the crowd began chanting, "La Prensa!" and calling for the confiscation of the right-wing daily that is the mouthpiece of Nicaraguan capitalism. The night before, bonfires around Managua had been fueled by copies of *La Prensa*, with barrio residents contributing the issues they considered most outrageous or dishonest.

Land reform

Ortega also proposed a decree authorizing the confiscation of all properties of Nicaraguans out of the country for six months.

At this, people within the crowd began calling for wealthy industrialist and anti-Sandinista leader Alfonso Robelo to go on a six-month foreign vacation.

"Does this gathering agree with this measure?" Ortega asked.

"Yes!" and "People's power!" came the reply from hundreds of thousands of mouths.

Peasants and agricultural workers have also been vigorously protesting decapitalization in the countryside and demanding confiscation of affected properties.

In response, Ortega read out a proposed new land-reform measure that subjects large landholdings to confiscation if they are left idle or underutilized. The law affects farms of more than 500 manzanas (863 acres) in the Pacific Zone, and double that size in the Atlantic. Land will be turned over to peasants who are landless or without sufficient land to support their families.

Minister of Agricultural Development Jaime Wheelock explained at a July 20 news conference that about one

Nicaraguan peasant in four could qualify for land under the new law, and that the government would continue to encourage the formation of peasant cooperatives.

Noting that there had been more than 400 land takeovers in the past few months, Wheelock said the government hoped the new law would lead to greater stability and higher levels of production in the countryside by giving peasants an orderly way to get land.

'People decide the rules'

A series of other revolutionary measures were proposed by Ortega at the July 19 rally and adopted by acclamation:

- Government controls on foreign trade were strengthened. Products totaling \$40 million a year in sales were added to the list of items that can be exported only by the government.

- The government will completely take over domestic distribution of sugar. Sugar supplies have been subjected to price manipulation and hoarding, thus causing shortages.

- Ownership titles will be granted to tenants in intervened housing projects.

Over the past six weeks, popular demands around the country against decapitalization and against a wave of counterrevolutionary terror have often called for *mano dura*—a "firm hand"—against the counterrevolution, including institution of the death penalty.

Ortega explained that the way to deal

with the counterrevolution was not by instituting the death penalty, but by "organizing everyone here, anyone who can fire a rifle, into the Sandinista People's Militias."

Summing up, Ortega said, "From this day on, the FSLN, the government, and all the people of Nicaragua are deciding the rules of the game."

"We are not going to permit them to keep on playing around with our revolution: playing with the blood of our martyrs, playing with the sweat of our workers."

Result of struggles

The other speaker at the rally was Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge, the only surviving founder of the FSLN. When he got up to speak, the crowd began shouting, "Tomás! Tomás!" and thousands of banners waved.

He said the revolutionary measures were "a step forward in the process of transforming society in the way demanded by working people."

Borge lashed out at those who did not want the revolution to go forward.

"Who are these people who ship their money out of the country? Who murdered Sandino and then celebrated in an orgy of champagne and blood?"

"The bourgeoisie!" answered the huge crowd.

"Who made fabulous deals with the tyranny? Who gave contributions under the table to Somoza's election cam-

paigns?"

"The bourgeoisie!"—louder than before.

"Who grabbed up the peasants' land? Who has kept the workers under the yoke of oppression? Who called our wonderful literacy campaign 'indoctrination'?"

The crowd shouted back after every question, "The bourgeoisie!"

Against bureaucracy

But the capitalists are not the only ones to blame for Nicaragua's problems, Borge acknowledged. The crowd apparently agreed with him, because they cheered him when he declared "a war to the death against bureaucracy."

He listed some abuses for which there was no excuse: "I even heard of a case of a comrade who went to ask for time off when she was seven months pregnant, and they told her she had to come back with an affidavit swearing she was really pregnant."

"I think it is an unpostponable obligation to confront bureaucratism," Borge went on. "But how do we confront bureaucratism? By joining ourselves with the masses."

One of the reasons so many people turned out July 19 was to show support for their revolution and government in the face of a series of hostile actions on the part of the U.S. government—such as cutting off economic aid and allowing armed Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries to set up training camps in Florida. Borge got the biggest applause of the day when he said that the revolution had arms to defend itself, and, "We don't have to explain to anyone where these arms, these guns, these cannons come from. They are for defending our revolution and our people."

Moral authority

Borge noted the immense moral authority the Nicaraguan revolution has throughout the world:

"All the revolutionaries and all the peoples of Latin America especially know that the hearts of our people are with them. . . . This doesn't mean, however, that we export our revolution. It is enough—and we can't do otherwise—that we export an example: the example of courage, generosity, and dedication of our people."

Forty-two governments or sister parties of the FSLN sent representatives to the gathering.

As people poured out of the plaza after the rally, Paulita Gutiérrez, a resident of the barrio of Ciudad Sandino, expressed what seemed to be the sentiment of many.

"These new laws are going to mean big changes that will help the workers and peasants," she said.

Teenager Ricardo Jaimes added that the rally had "taught a lesson to the reactionaries, who still haven't figured out that this revolution is not going to be turned around."

SWP greetings to FSLN

The following message was sent July 13 to the Sandinista National Liberation Front by the Political Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Sandinista National Liberation Front
Department of International Relations
Managua, Nicaragua Libre

Dear Comrades:

On the second anniversary of the Sandinista People's Revolution, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States sends our warmest greetings to the FSLN and to all of the people of Nicaragua. At the same time we want to express our firm confidence in the unstoppable advance of the revolutionary process, benefitting the workers and campesinos and all the oppressed and exploited of Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration is continuing its campaign of blackmail and threats against the Sandinista People's Revolution and against all the progressive forces of Central America—above all, against the combative people of El Salvador, organized in the Revolutionary Democratic Front and led by their vanguard, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. In this situation, the Socialist Workers Party pledges to redouble our efforts to build the solidarity movement in the United States.

We pledge to stand firm in defense of the Cuban Revolution, a beacon of hope for all the oppressed of Latin America. And we also pledge to continue publicizing the achievements of the Sandinista People's Revolution in meeting the needs and aspirations of the workers and campesinos of Nicaragua.

Yankee hands off Central America!
Unconditional material aid for Nicaragua!
Long live the Sandinista People's Revolution!
Long live international solidarity!
Political Committee, Socialist Workers Party
of the United States

...millions to suffer under budget

Continued from preceding page
and Health Administration will be cut by 6.6 percent and the Employment Standards Administration, which is supposed to investigate employers' compliance with minimum wage, child labor, and working hours laws, will be cut by 6.1 percent.

These cuts are part of a government policy of ignoring violations of regulations that help workers. Construction company boss Raymond Donovan, now Secretary of Labor, is in charge of enforcing laws his company violated.

The cuts are a green light to employers to raise the price of producing profits with the lives and blood of workers.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights issued a report June 25 blasting the federal budget. The commission described it as a historic setback in the fight for civil rights.

The report singles out budget cuts that will damage the civil rights effort.

These include cutting the Legal Services Corporation, which provides assistance to people who can't afford private attorneys; cuts in school aid, bilingual education, programs for small businesses, housing, health care, CETA, and anti-poverty programs.

The report concludes: "Reducing allocations for specific civil rights enforcement activities will mean that millions of Americans will continue to be victims of discrimination in education, employment, housing, and government services."

The Social Security program, the government-run insurance scheme that stands between tens of millions of workers and abject poverty, is being cut. The exact cuts have not been worked out yet. The discussion in Congress does not even include the possibility of funding Social Security out of general revenue. The only questions are how high to raise the retirement age, how much to raise

Social Security taxes, and how much to cut benefits.

The politicians seem to be moving toward the plan of raising the retirement age from sixty-five to sixty-eight and eliminating or reducing the cost-of-living escalator in benefits.

Rail workers are not covered by Social Security. But their Railroad Retirement Fund is threatened with the same sort of cutbacks.

Education programs on every level will be hurt. Everything from federal aid to public schools to loans for students to go to college are being cut.

Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) will be reduced by about one-sixth. About 10.7 million people, including 7.4 million children, are covered by this welfare program now.

Many people who will lose CETA jobs will be forced to compete for the AFDC funds.

These budget cuts are only the first

round. They set the stage for gutting all these and other programs in succeeding budgets.

But seeing how serious and cruel these budget cuts are should not make you cynical. Ronald Reagan, David Stockman, the budget director, and the Democrats and Republicans in Congress are not without some social concern.

This was shown recently on the question of taxes. On one particular tax proposal the Reagan administration proposed a cut of \$12.9 billion over five years, a generous amount for the worthy people who would benefit.

But the Democratic Party has a reputation for compassion. So the House Ways and Means Committee, run by the Democrats, increased the cut so those involved would save \$15.6 billion.

These generous cuts are in inheritance taxes. They concern people who are worth more than \$600,000.

Just folks, like you and me.

PRDF nat'l rally set for Cleveland, Aug. 7

The Political Rights Defense Fund has announced plans for "An Evening to Defend the Bill of Rights" in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 7.

PRDF is organizing support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and harassment. Trade union leaders, leaders of Black rights movement, and others from across the country are scheduled to speak.

The rally is part of a growing response to the government's attack on democratic rights.

Included on the initial speakers list is Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Shuttlesworth was the central Black leader in Birmingham during the rise of the civil rights movement. He became the target of police and right-wing terror—both his home and church were bombed.

Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of five Puerto Rican nationalists who spent a quarter century in prison, will also address the rally.

Another speaker is Tom Pontolillo, the president of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Division 501. Pontolillo explained why he supported the SWP lawsuit at a New York meeting earlier this year.

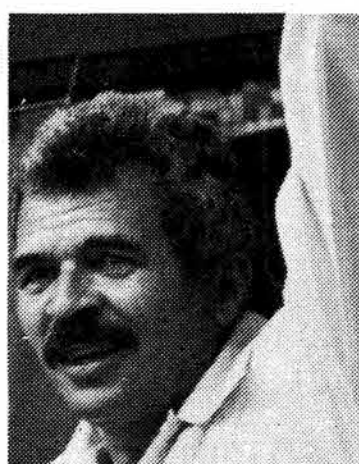
"This is the most important civil lib-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock



Militant/Nelson Blackstock



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Lou Howort

Set to speak at national rally, from left: Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, Afeni Shakur, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Tom Pontolillo.

erties case to come down the pike in a long while," he said. It comes at a "crucial moment, when the Reagan administration and far too many members of Congress want to turn the clock on civil rights back to at least the post-World War II days.

"It is for this reason that I feel that every trade unionist and every trade union official has a vital stake in the outcome of this suit. Regardless of one's personal view of the SWP and YSA, I think a statement by another rail-worker, Eugene Debs, still applies.

Within the labor movement, an injury to one is an injury to all."

Rodney Johnson, one of the NASSCO Three frame-up victims, will also speak.

So will Afeni Shakur, who spent more than a year in jail because of her participation in the Black rights movement.

Shakur was one of the Panther Twenty-one, members of the New York Black Panther Party who were framed on bombing conspiracy charges. Today she is helping to lead the opposition to a proposed sell-out settlement of a lawsuit

against the New York City Red Squad.

Other rally speakers include Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student and member of the YSA who is being threatened with deportation because of her ideas, and Malik Miah, a national co-chairperson of the SWP, who will outline the upcoming steps in the socialist lawsuit.

The PRDF rally will be held in the Masonic Temple Auditorium at Thirty-Sixth Street and Euclid Avenue in Cleveland at 8:00 p.m. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Civil rights leaders pay tribute to socialist suit

By Charles Peterson

LOUISVILLE—Civil rights leaders here closed ranks June 28 at a rally for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

"We are a country apprised of having freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of expression," said former Louisville NAACP President Lyman T. Johnson. "But when we allow our elected officials to supervise our private associations, contacts, and individual opinions—we've become a police state."

In 1948, Johnson waged a successful struggle to become the first Black student admitted to the University of Kentucky.

Mattie Jones, acting chairperson of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, said the rally was a way of "putting the government on notice" that it must bring a halt to attacks on political rights.

"We're fired up, and we won't take it no more," she said. "We're having our day in court now. So watch it!"

Statements of support were read at the rally from Anne Braden, national cochairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and John T. Johnson, president of the Kentucky Conference of NAACP Branches.

Braden's message said, "I've been a supporter of the SWP suit, I believe, from just about the minute it was filed,

and have watched in gratitude to all of you as the litigation has revealed more and more about the war waged by the U.S. government against its own people. . . . Keep up the fight."

And, from John T. Johnson: "On behalf of the Kentucky Conference of NAACP Branches, representing some 12,000 members in sixty-seven cities



Militant Nelson Blackstock

ANNE BRADEN

across Kentucky, we offer our encouragement to the suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. . . .

"Every American has the right to basic constitutional liberties such as free speech, which includes free political expression without fear of harassment from their government. We commend the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in their efforts to make sure that such injustices are stopped."

Adlene Abstain, financial secretary of the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference, gave a fund appeal at the rally that raised over \$700.

Other speakers at the rally included Martha Pickering, a representative of Jefferson County National Organization for Women; Geneva Perry of the Kentucky ACLU; and Bill Allison, attorney for the Louisville Black Panther 7.

The Louisville Anti-Klan Coalition; the Marble Hill Task Force, an antinuclear power group; and the Louisville Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador sent greetings.

Fred Halstead, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, reported on the political issues coming to the fore in the trial and the stakes for all working people.

PRDF needs your help

Testimony in the trial of the government's snoops is over, but the bills are still pouring in to the offices of the Political Rights Defense Fund. In order to meet the enormous costs of this trial, PRDF needs to go substantially over its goal of raising \$125,000.

Thus far, \$111,526 has been collected. Another \$28,633 has been pledged.

Why not make your contribution today to the fight to stop government spying?

☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ to help defray legal and publicity costs of socialist suit.

Name _____

Signature _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Machinist official links suit to labor rights fight

The following letter is by Charles F. Williams, legislative coordinator in the office of the general vice-president of the International Association of Machinists in Illinois.

The letter was sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund in Chicago. It was released by PRDF to the 'Militant.'

Dear Political Rights Defenders:

I am proud to lend my name with that of Ed Asner, Douglas Fraser, Congressman Dellums and others who have joined you in the struggle for justice

against governmental abuses. The Nixon Administration, CIA, FBI break ins should be enough to tell anyone that illegal government spying should not be tolerated.

Labor Unions are often the prime target of illegal spying by government agencies. The Reagan Administration will, if within their power, bring about the re-birth of Senator Joseph McCarthy's witch hunt investigations. If we are not prepared to fight that re-birth and expose the enemies of freedom for what they are, we deserve what we surely will get.

I can remember my days in the middle 50's, working in a defense plant where the executive order of President Eisenhower (influenced by Senator McCarthy) allowed an employer to discharge any employee suspected of being a communist without redress of the issue or his or her firing except in the courts. Of course the management took full advantage of that executive order to get rid of whomever they pleased. Unfortunately, for those affected, the accuser was never challenged except through expensive court proceedings and that awful blight followed the fired

worker from that day forward.

President Kennedy saw the executive order for what it was and it was therefore rescinded when he took office.

I am for a strong National defense at the same time I am for the U.S. Constitution and the bill of rights which protects us from bastards who want the right to ignore our rights in the pursuit of their investigations (many of which are illegal to begin with). So here is my contribution and best wishes for success.

Sincerely,
Charles F. Williams
Legislative Coordinator

How nation's press saw socialist suit

By Harry Ring

When the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government came to trial, it encountered a near blackout by the major media.

The trial—with its revelations of a government policy going back decades of committing crimes against opponents of its policies—contradicted claims that the FBI has cleaned up its act and must now be given more leeway by legitimizing its dirty tricks.

The top national dailies limited themselves to one or a few stories each, enough to make the record.

But the blackout was not total. In a number of cities, local papers carried stories on the trial, or on area meetings in support of the suit.

With but a few unfortunate exceptions, the left-wing press covered the case and registered solidarity.

A number of Black and Latino publications saw the relationship of the suit to the fight of oppressed nationalities.

The following is a sampling of recent coverage.

'National Law Journal'

The June 15 issue of the *National Law Journal* had an extensive article on the case. It described government cross-examination of former SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs, in which Dobbs refuted defense contentions that the Russian revolution had been imposed by a conspiratorial minority.

The *Journal* commented, "Such is the stuff of the Socialist Workers Party. . . . Debates about the nature of Marxism and the SWP's relationship with the Fourth International. . . .

"Even Judge Thomas P. Griesa has joined the dissection of socialist ideology. . . .

"The cross-examination on Marxist revolutionary thinking was actually welcomed by the party. In fact, SWP leaders have testified in great detail about their advocacy of a nonviolent socialist revolution in America. They hope to demonstrate, as the party's lead at-

torney, Margaret Winter said in her opening statement, 'that the SWP and YSA . . . do not mask their real intentions from the public.'"

'New York Times'

A June 28 *New York Times* article on the end of testimony in the case reported in part:

"In the trial, the party presented extensive testimony and documents to support charges that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had used numerous informers, warrantless wiretaps, burglaries of the party's headquarters and other tactics that violated constitutional rights. . . .

"A major witness for the government was Herbert Brownell Jr., who was the Attorney General in the Eisenhower Administration. He said the bureau had used electronic surveillance and surreptitious entries to obtain information in intelligence cases since the Roosevelt Administration in World War II.

"Mr. Brownell testified that several Presidents had authorized the bureau to continue the intelligence operations. 'The methods,' he added, 'were left to the discretion of the FBI.'"

Charleston 'Gazette'

The Charleston, West Virginia, *Gazette*, published an editorial July 11 in support of the suit.

It declared: "For decades federal cloak and dagger and law enforcement agencies broke innumerable laws spying on a political party that has every right under the Constitution to seek support, members and power.

"Finally, the Socialist Workers Party tired of the illegal surveillance. After assembling through judicious use of the Freedom of Information Act a mass of evidence to support a suit, the SWP sued the government for \$40 million."

The June 1 Salt Lake City *Tribune* reported on what speakers had to say at a Political Rights Defense Fund rally in support of the suit.

Reporting the remarks of Dr. E.K.

Hunt, a professor of economics at the University of Utah, the paper wrote: ". . . the professor said he and others can fight 'a government that doesn't respect the Bill of Rights,' by contributing to the lawsuit fund."

The *Dominion-Post* in Morgantown, West Virginia, reported June 28 on a PRDF rally held there, and quoted extensively from a speech by *Militant* reporter Nelson Blackstock on the political significance of the suit.

Similarly, the June 16 Portland *Oregonian* reported on a meeting in that city where Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley was a principal speaker.

Left press

Among left-wing publications, the most extensive coverage of the suit appeared in the *Guardian*, with *In These Times* a runner-up.

John Trinkl's article in the July 8 *Guardian* was headlined, "Testimony ends in historic SWP case."

Reviewing key points in the trial, Trinkl concluded that any verdict handed down is likely to be appealed, and added, "The ultimate verdict will have far-reaching implications for left and progressive groups. A victory against the government will not stop repression and spying, but can place restrictions on the state's investigative apparatus. A victory by the government would be an attack not only on the left, but also on fundamental civil liberties."

Elizabeth Weiner wrote in the July 14 *In These Times* on the conclusion of the SWP's presentation of its case.

She said, "While much testimony spoke to the damages aspect of the suit, documenting a 35-year history of the disruption of the Trotskyist party, other testimony was aimed at delving into the nature of 'thought' control laws . . . and immigration regulations that restrict political activity. In the end, the concepts of subversion, national security and 'inherent power' of the president also emerged as defendants in this trial."

Changes, the magazine of the International Socialists, covered the trial in its July-August issue.

The article noted that the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee, Jane Fonda, and other victims of government spying had filed suits but later settled out of court.

'One political victory'

"The SWP," *Changes* said, "feeling that these settlements rested on empty government promises which tended to whitewash the image of the 'new' FBI and CIA rather than restrain them, pressed on to bring its suit to trial."

Writer David Finkel concluded, "The SWP's suit has already resulted in at least one political victory. It has forced the government to put forth its real position: that it claims the right to act illegally against any political opponents whose ideas it decides (on totally arbitrary grounds) are undesirable. That fact, all by itself, would be enough to make this the most important civil liberties case in many years." (Emphasis in original.)

A roundup on the trial also appeared in the July 1-15 issue of *Plain Speaking*, published in San Francisco by the Democratic Workers Party.

Polly Thomas wrote, "Have you ever wished that the FBI and CIA would be put on trial for all the times they have violated someone's civil and political rights with illegal wiretaps, political spying and dirty tricks? Well, they are on trial right now in New York. . . .

"Clearly the importance of this case is not limited to the SWP and the YSA. . . .

"The government's position is that the bill of rights does not extend to socialists or those who fight for revolutionary changes—no matter how legal their methods of struggle.

"The logical end to the government's arguments would be to outlaw thoughts, not actions. Who, we then ask, is really subverting the Constitution? Is it not really the government itself?"

'Workers Viewpoint'

May Quan wrote on the case in the May 4-10 *Workers Viewpoint*, voice of the Communist Workers Party. She said, "At certain points in history, symbols emerge which become lightning rods of resistance. The SWP's suit is one such symbol. The suit has great potential to expose government spying and terrorism just at the time when the government needs to expand such activities. . . .

The May 14 *Louisville Defender*, a Black weekly, headlined support to the suit by Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. It quoted Dick Gregory and other prominent Blacks who are also backing the case.

The New York *Amsterdam News*, on May 30, cited Gregory's endorsement of the suit; that of Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and a statement by Black Congressmen John Conyers, Ron Dellums, and Gus Savage.

The June issue of *El Tecolote*, a San Francisco Chicano publication, focused on a move by the Immigration and Naturalization Service during the trial.

The paper said, "Here's a disturbing turn of events in the \$40 million conspiracy lawsuit against the U.S. Federal Government by the Socialist Workers Party. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is threatening to initiate deportation proceedings against foreign-born SWP members.

"This is a dangerous precedent because if the INS can carry out its threat with the blessings of the courts, then many progressive groups could come under their scrutiny.

"The SWP lawsuit . . . charges the Federal Government with having a 40-year 'campaign of disruption and defamations.' We need to keep a watchful eye on this case."

The Louisville Defender

Other NAACP Leaders Join In Support Of Action

Benjamin Hooks Endorses Social Workers Party Lawsuit

NEW YORK — Benjamin L. Hooks, the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has joined other black leaders in public support of the lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against spying, harassment, blacklisting, and wiretapping by the FBI, INS, and other government agencies.

In a statement dated April 23, Rev. Hooks expressed "the NAACP's empathy for your aggressive protection of your political rights. The NAACP holds a profound respect for the

Mondays, June 15, 1981

THE NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL

The Party Line: Ideology or Subversion?

By LARRY TELL

NEW YORK — Asst. U.S. Attorney Edward Wil-

kins is cross-examining the witness, Farrell Dobbs, a former official of the Socialist Workers Party and a plaintiff in the party's \$40 million civil suit against the government.

In his opening statement, Wilkins said that he would not



THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 1981

Testimony Ends in Trotskyist Party's Harassment Suit

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

Testimony has ended in the 12-week trial of a lawsuit charging that the Federal Government improperly investigated, harassed and disrupted the Socialist Workers Party.

After presenting dozens of witnesses and hundreds of documents, both sides rested their cases Thursday in Federal District Court in Manhattan. The trial, which began April 2, amassed 8,000 pages of daily transcript.

Federal District Judge Judge Thomas P. Griesa, conducting the trial without a jury, told lawyers for both sides to submit briefs to summarize their positions. He said the detailed briefs should be completed by the end of September and would probably be followed by oral arguments. As a result, a decision in the case will be put off for some time.

The Socialist Workers, a small Trotskyist party that was formed in 1938 and has about 2,000 members throughout the country, sued the Government for \$40 million in damages and injunctions against harassment. The civil suit, which was filed in 1973, produced several years of pretrial procedures.

Violated Constitutional Rights

In the trial, the party presented extensive testimony and documents to support charges that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had used numerous informers, warrantless wiretaps, burglaries of

the Government had waged a 40-year "campaign of disruption and defamations" against the Socialist Workers and its affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance.

For the defense, the Government's witnesses and documents supported its contention that executive orders of several Presidents had authorized the kind of "internal security investigation" that the F.B.I. conducted.

Edward G. Williams, heading a group of three Assistant United States Attorneys, contended that the investigation had been warranted by the party's involvement with a foreign revolutionary organization called the Fourth International.

A major witness for the Government was Herbert Brownell Jr., who was the Attorney General in the Eisenhower Administration. He said the bureau had used electronic surveillance and surreptitious entries to obtain information in intelligence cases since the Roosevelt Administration in World War II.

Mr. Brownell testified that several Presidents had authorized the bureau to continue the intelligence operations.

"The methods," he added, "were left to the discretion of the F.B.I."

Witnesses for the Socialist Workers included several of the party's present and former leaders who testified about the origins of the party, its political campaigns and the tactics used against it.

The trial was the key issue in

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

DAMAGE SUIT

Witnesses anger judge in SWP case

Despite Mandigo's grandstanding with the secret affidavit, the FBI agent succeeded, in two different appearances, to infuriate Griesa. During the first examination, the judge asked Mandigo, "What would you be looking for? Would you be looking for any specific acts as distinct from just ideas if you were conducting an investigation?"

"Well, this directive was to conduct strictly intelligence investigations of subversive activities," Mandigo said.

The judge pressed Mandigo for specifics. "Are you trying to convey to me that the investigation wasn't related to activity?" he asked.

"We are dealing with a very complex problem here," the witness began. "That has nothing whatsoever to do with my question. Was the FBI interested in finding out if certain types of activity were engaged in? If so, what? I've asked you five times and you won't answer," the judge snapped.

A month later, Mandigo led the Voorhis Act to its final resting place as a major

Support grows for socialist case

D.C.: greetings from councilwoman

By Lester Dolphy

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Hilda Mason, a Black representative on the D.C. City Council, was among the speakers at a rally for political rights here July 11.

The event, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, drew more than 100 to the Ethical Society of Washington. Its purpose was to raise support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying.

On the scope and depth of government surveillance, Mason said, "It is important to fight it, and it can only be stopped with a big commitment of time and resources. That is the importance of our being here tonight."

"On trial in New York are the political liberties of all of us," Michael Gaffney of the National Lawyers Guild told the audience. Emerging movements against U.S. intervention in Central America and against the draft, he said, "stand to face the same kind of infiltration and harassment that the Socialist Workers have been subjected to for years."

Also speaking were Lee Perkins, D.C. National Organization for Women; Phil Wheaton of EPICA, a religious group concerned with problems of Central America; and Rob Duncan, Committee to Defend the NASSCO Workers.

Rev. Ben Chavis, director of the Commission for Racial Justice and a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, had been scheduled to address the rally, but was unable to attend. Taped messages by Chavis were played on two local radio stations to publicize the gathering.

David Harrington, a leader of the D.C. Black Party chapter, brought greetings from the newly-formed party.

"They cannot kill an ideal that is based on truth and based on people," Harrington said. "They can't wipe out our spirit to struggle."

"The FBI can try if they will, but we know we're going to win."

Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, Doug Jenness, a National Committee member, outlined the conclusion of the testimony phase and the next stage of the trial proceedings in the lawsuit.

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, a young Iranian student and member of the Young Socialist Alliance who faces deportation because of her views, presented her case and its significance for the suit.

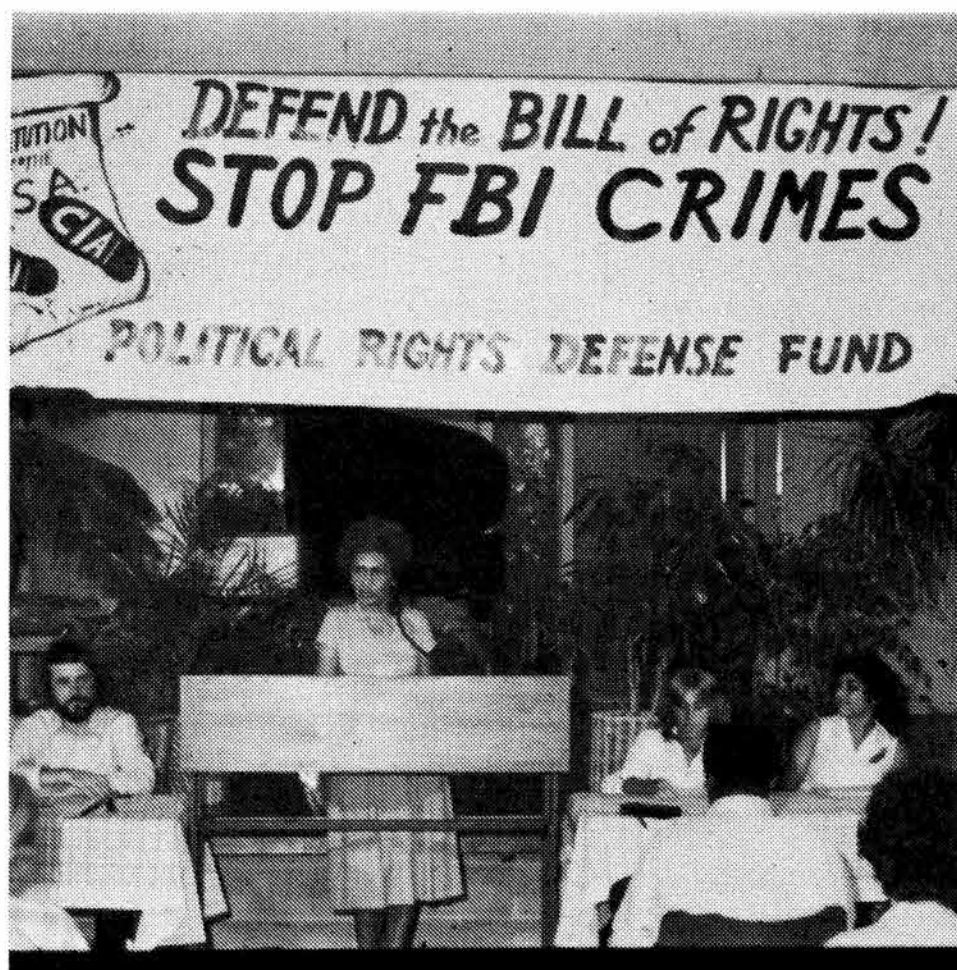
Also participating in the evening were members or supporters of the *Guardian* newspaper, People's Antiwar Mobilization, Workers World Party, and the Communist Workers Party.

More than \$600 in contributions were raised to support PRDF.

Atlanta: 'Bill of Rights is at stake'

By Garrett Brown

ATLANTA—"What is at stake in this trial of the FBI and CIA is the American Bill of Rights and the Constitution," declared Leamon Hood in a statement to the July 11 Political Rights Defense Fund rally here. Hood is international union area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "Those of us who are fighting against government cutbacks and layoffs, for extension of the Voting Rights Act, for decent jobs and housing, and against racist attacks by groups



Hilda Mason, member of D.C. City Council, addresses July 11 rally.

like the KKK are subject to become the victims of these FBI spying and disruption programs," he continued.

"It is in the interests of all of us involved in the fight to build unions in this country and end racial discrimination to support this important suit," the Black union leader concluded.

The forty participants in the rally heard a message from Presbyterian Church leader Jorge Lara-Braud, a prominent figure in the movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"As a churchman, I am happy to see a growing coalition between churches and popular organizations making common cause in curbing the abuse of government power both at home and abroad," Lara-Braud declared.

Continuing government harassment of Americans engaged in legal political activities was detailed in remarks by Andreé Kahlmorgen.

Kahlmorgen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, was one of fifteen workers fired by the Lockheed-Georgia Corporation in December 1980 and January 1981.

The unionists were discharged after an intensive investigation of their legal union and political activities. The company spy operation included physical and electronic surveillance, use of informers in the plant and at meetings of Lodge 709 of the Machinists union, and contact with at least five field offices of the FBI and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department.

Kahlmorgen also pointed out that at the same time the FBI was defending its criminal actions in court in New York, it was busy in Atlanta attacking the mothers of the city's slain Black youth.

Walter Reeves of the Atlanta Coalition Against Registration and the Draft told the rally of an experience he had in 1972.

"I was a sixteen-year-old high school student here in Atlanta. I sent a letter to a New York newspaper opposing the war in Vietnam."

"Three days later two FBI agents showed up at my family's house to question me. I was at work but they called me there after having successfully terrified my sister and grandmother," Reeves recalled.

"We must unite and voice our opposition to the subversion of democratic liberties by the government in this country," Reeves stated in urging support for the socialist suit.

In addition to raising \$400 toward the enormous costs of the legal effort, the Atlanta rally sent a message of support to the three victimized unionists at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego.

Also speaking at the rally were Dion Lerman of Atlantans Concerned about El Salvador and Malik Miah, national co-chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party.

Messages of support came from Rick Reed, director of the Clearing House on Georgia Prisons and Jails, and Pam Beardsley, co-coordinator of Georgians Against Nuclear Energy.

Boston: many unite behind suit

By David Rowlands

BOSTON—Nearly 150 people gathered at the Church of the Covenant July 11, for an evening in defense of the Bill of Rights.

The event, initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund, was cosponsored by a wide spectrum of individuals and political organizations from the Boston and New England area.

These included the Boston People's Organization; Massachusetts Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Boston local of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Bernard Sanders, socialist mayor of Burlington, Vermont; Michael Meeropol, son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; Mobilization for Survival; National Lawyers Guild; and John Roberts, executive director, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union.

Speakers included Joseph D. Feaster, Jr., president of the Boston NAACP; State Representative Mel King; Morton Sobel, co-victim with the Rosenbergs in the "atom spy" frame-up of the early 1950s; and Mary-Alice Waters, a national cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party.

Bringing greetings were Leslie Cagan from the Mobilization for Survival;

State Representative Tom Gallagher; Doug Hostetter from the American Friends Service Committee; Jim Jordan from the Boston *Guardian* newspaper bureau; Esther Shefton from the NASSCO Three Defense Committee; and civil liberties lawyer Max Stern from the Massachusetts Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The theme of the rally was best expressed by the banner that decorated the wall behind the speakers podium. It read, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Speaker after speaker recalled FBI crimes against their organizations or against themselves.

The rally raised more than \$1,500 to carry on the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The evening concluded with the chair reading a rousing message from Fergus O'Hare, socialist city council member in Belfast, Ireland.

Kansas City: rally hears IBEW leader

By Izabella Listopad

KANSAS CITY—Ed Haase said that anytime anyone seeks to correct the injustices of this society, they open themselves to FBI harassment.

Haase is business manager of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1259 and an activist in the Latin American Solidarity Committee.

He was speaking at "An Evening for Civil Liberties" here July 13. He was one of fifty who came to the rally. Like many of them, he is an activist in struggles for social justice and has good reason to be concerned about government spying and harassment.

The rally was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, and individual activists in the labor movement and Black community. They came together to support the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the FBI and other government agencies.

Malik Miah, national co-chairperson of the SWP and an observer at the trial of the suit in New York, told how the trial fits into the framework of government attacks against American working people. As living standards are cut, Miah said, the government tries to keep us from organizing against these attacks.

"This case is about defending everyone's right to fight for a decent living," Miah said.

Also speaking was Norman Forer, a professor in Lawrence, Kansas. Forer headed two delegations to Iran when American hostages were being held there. "We wanted to start a dialogue between Iranians and Americans, to try and cool down the hysteria," he said.

When delegation members returned, Forer said, their families received anonymous threats. One professor was denied reinstatement to his teaching post.

Randy Goul, speaking for the Sojourner Truth Organization, said he was sent to jail for a year in the early 1970s after being framed on bombing conspiracy charges. Goul said his group has files documenting FBI harassment of activists in the antiwar and antiracist movements.

Many came to the rally after receiving a flyer advertising it or because they know one of the speakers.

The event was covered by one television station and one radio station.

As one Iranian put it, "It's good to see Americans doing this, because it is when you organize and put your forces together that you can be very powerful."

Protests oppose GE harassment of women

By Mike Alewitz

LYNN, Mass.—On April 24, National Secretaries Day, two managers from the General Electric River Works plant here told their secretary that part of her job was going out to lunch with them.

So began a several hour ordeal where Mary was sexually abused, both verbally and physically. She was threatened with loss of her job if she dared report the assault.

She did report it to the company. When they took no action against the managers involved, 150 of her co-workers—machinists—walked off their jobs in protest. And other workers in the area threatened to join them if the managers were not removed.

As a result of these job actions, the managers were given two weeks vacation and transferred to other jobs.

The workers who took a hike for their sister got different treatment, however.

One probationary employee was discharged. He won his job back, but with loss of seniority.

Twenty-two workers were docked a day's pay. The rest were given "blue letters" which can result in future disciplinary penalties.

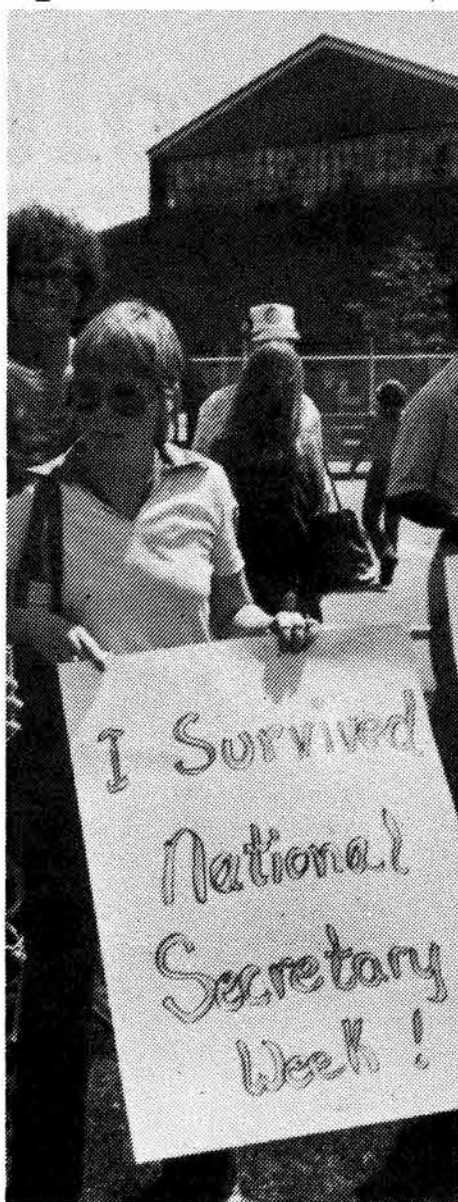
Disregard for workers

Callous disregard for the health and safety of female employees is not something new to GE management.

Last year, a woman was raped in the River Works plant. She won her worker's compensation case on the grounds of company negligence.

But demands by women workers—including better lighting between buildings and locking women's bathrooms—have been ignored by the company.

These events, and the company's response, prompted a major discussion in the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201, which represents 8,000 workers at River Works, and three



Picket line outside GE plant in Lynn, Massachusetts.

other electrical plants in the area.

At the May local meeting, member after member took the floor to refute the

company's claims that "appropriate action had been taken" and to demand the company take some real action.

As one member put it, "You know if a manager put his hands on any man he'd be out of here, but they seem to think they can put their hands all over any woman. We shouldn't tolerate it. They're nothing but male chauvinist pigs."

Other members pointed to the double standards that applied to management and workers, explaining that it was essential to defend the victimized brothers and sisters who walked off the job.

The double standard was also illustrated by the fact that in the recent past, union workers had been fired for cases of sexual harassment.

Company isolates women

The company used these incidents to attempt to divide male and female workers and to further isolate women in the plant.

As Marcia Hams, a member of the Local 201 women's committee, explained, "The women's committee has worked with the Rape Crisis Center and the Alliance Against Sexual Coercion just this last month, because of this incident, to work out a program of education in the local for officers, stewards, and a group of women who would be trained to work with the stewards."

The clear sentiment of the meeting was that sexual harassment of women workers has no business in the plant, be it from managers directly, or union members mistakenly playing the bosses' game.

The meeting voted to demand immediate discharge of the two managers, to give full support to the victims in any way possible, and to call a special shop stewards council meeting to organize protest activities.

Two hundred people attended the

shop stewards meeting. They called for a demonstration on June 24, and set up a committee of stewards and other volunteers who wanted to help organize it.

Picket & rally

The June 24 demonstration was a great success.

About 200 people participated over a three-hour period at a picket line at the plant.

A brief rally was held, where officers and members of the local spoke. Messages were received and read from the local of District 65 of the United Auto Workers, the Massachusetts Caucus of Women Legislators, the Massachusetts Coalition for Occupational Safety and Health, and others.

Following the picket, the first shift workers coming out of the plant boarded buses to go to the home of Frank Thorn, a GE spokesperson.

A convoy of three buses, cars, and numerous motorcycles snaked its way through the exclusive neighborhood where Thorn lives. They met a fourth bus there from the GE plant at Wilmington. Thorn wasn't home, but petitions signed by thousands of union members were left in his mailbox.

The company has now filed charges against the union with the National Labor Relations Board. It has charged unfair labor practices on two grounds.

- They say the union has no right to picket Thorn's house because there is an established grievance procedure. This is particularly hypocritical since the company has refused to discuss the matter with the union.

- They say it is unfair for the union to demand the managers be fired since that would mean the union can determine who represents the company in collective bargaining. If this is upheld, it would make managers, or anyone dealing with grievances procedures, virtually immune to union demands.

NASSCO 3 need solidarity—not stab in back

By Stu Singer

There's an old and proud slogan in the labor movement: an injury to one is an injury to all.

Unfortunately, not everybody seems to remember it.

The *Daily World*, published in New York, and the *People's World*, published in California, reflect the views of the Communist Party.

The June 27 supplement to both papers, *World Magazine*, carried a full-page article attacking the Communist Workers Party (CWP) for its role in the fight of shipyard workers at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) in San Diego.

The article comes at a time when NASSCO workers are under vicious attack. It casts blame not on the criminals, but the victims.

On June 5 three NASSCO workers, two of them members of the CWP, were convicted on a bomb plot frame-up engineered by the company, the FBI, and the San Diego cops. On July 14 the NASSCO Three were sentenced to six months in jail and three years' probation.

The *World Magazine* article does not even mention their conviction. It does say that, "three members of the CWP at the shipyards have been accused of plotting to bomb the shipyard's power generator."

"National big business media has given the trial a lot of coverage. The struggle of the NASSCO workers has somehow disappeared in all this publicity. The attention is now on the CWP."

The title of the *World Magazine* article is, "The politics of diversion." And the diversion they seem to be referring to is the fact that there is some attention to the CWP.

But the real diversion is this article.

Written by *People's World* staff writer Lincoln Smith, it is filled with attacks against what Smith claims the CWP did at NASSCO.

The real significance of what happened at NASSCO is ignored.

The company and FBI joined in a blatant frame-up against unionists. It's a classic example, in the tradition of the "Molly Maguires" frame-up that sent ten coal miners to the gallows in the late 1870s. Both cases involved the use of agents provocateur.

Unionists haven't seen anything like it in recent years. But, as the ruling-class offensive intensifies and workers fight back, they will face more attacks like this one.

Now is the time for maximum unity in support of the NASSCO Three. Instead, the *World Magazine* article uses the occasion for a crude factional attack on the CWP.

The author even echoes charges made by the company and right-wing union officials.

For example, Robert Carter, the official of the International Association of Machinists who took over the IAM local at NASSCO when it was put in receivership, was quoted in the September 19, 1980, *San Diego Union*, that the CWP members should be told, "look, we don't want any part of your Communist bullshit. We'll take care of our problems at the collective bargaining table and on the picket line if necessary."

The *World Magazine* article charged: "The CWP's main principles are not for trade union struggle, but for 'revolution.'"

If this is supposed to be bad, it would be interesting to know what the "main principles" advocated by *World Magazine* are.

NASSCO is the largest shipyard on the West Coast. The work force suffers from extreme company violations of health and safety. They are paid about \$3 an hour less than workers at other West Coast shipyards.

A militant struggle against the company has been going on for several years. The union militants who rose to leadership in that struggle include members of the Communist Workers Party.

Union militants fired

NASSCO responded to a series of strikes and demonstrations last fall by firing at least twenty-seven union militants. On September 2, the bodies of two young machinists were found in the hull of a ship where they had been working. There was no ventilation, and they died from a gas leak.

Coming after months of protests against the safety violations in the yard, the deaths brought outrage and enhanced the authority of the young militants who had been leading the safety fight. Public pressure was also mounting against the company to clean up the safety violations.

On September 17, the company moved to head off these developments. Three young union activists were charged with a plot to blow up part of the shipyard.

The only evidence was the testimony of Ramon Barton, a white South African immigrant who was a spy against the union for both NASSCO and the FBI. Barton actually made a bomb and invented the whole "conspiracy." Its only purpose was to break up the workers' struggle in the shipyard.

The NASSCO Three are David Boyd, Mark Loo, and Rodney Johnson. Loo

and Johnson are members of the Communist Workers Party.

In their trial, the government prosecutor said in his closing arguments that anyone who was advocating the overthrow of the capitalist system would be inclined to commit crimes.

Workers respond

The *World Magazine* article buys the charges made by the company and the cops and the right-wing union officials. But the workers in the yard at NASSCO are more intelligent. After the frame-up charges came down in September, militant union activists, including members of the CWP, were elected to the leadership of the Ironworkers union local. The local was put into receivership to prevent these militants from taking office.

A number of trade union officials have spoken out against the frame-up. Liberal politicians like Congressman Ron Dellums and prominent supporters of civil liberties have spoken out in defense of the NASSCO Three.

Supporters of the NASSCO Three defense in San Diego report that members of the Communist Party have been among those opposing the frame-up.

The attack in *World Magazine* must be an embarrassment to them. It is a violation of the most elementary trade union solidarity.

It is the militancy of workers at NASSCO that is under attack. The militancy of thousands of shipyard workers is a threat to the company.

The NASSCO Three, victims of company-FBI injustice, deserve all the support that can be organized for them.

Messages of support and contributions should be sent to the NASSCO Three Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8383, San Diego, California 92102.

Fidel Castro on 20 years of socialist revolution

The following are extracts from a speech by Fidel Castro. See introductory comments on facing page.

By that time [the "Bay of Pigs" invasion], we could say that the program of the Moncada had been completed. (APPLAUSE) All the laws passed during the first years of the Revolution were laws and measures proclaimed in essence in the Moncada program, since it contained the seed, created the conditions for a socialist revolution. (APPLAUSE) And in our country at that moment there could have been no revolution other than a socialist one, (APPLAUSE) if any of us were real revolutionaries.

Our enemies said that our struggle against Batista's tyranny had been for another kind of revolution. But at the very moment when we confronted the most powerful enemy, Yankee imperialism; when we resolutely confronted their plans and their forces; on the very eve of battle, when the people prepared once again to struggle, to shed their blood and die, the socialist nature of the Revolution was proclaimed.

And no one knew what that struggle would cost, because if the mercenaries had not been defeated immediately, in less than 72 hours, thus preventing them from establishing a beachhead, with a solid territory in their hands and with a so-called provisional government which—as the dispatches said—would be immediately recognized by many governments, that struggle could have cost our country hundreds of thousands of lives. And yet our people did not hesitate; they got ready and struggled with all their might, struggled and shed their blood during those heroic days for the socialist Revolution of Cuba. (APPLAUSE)

The struggle for the socialist Revolution, for the Revolution of our people in that historic period, for the only real revolution, had been the struggle, in one way or another, of all those who had died since the last century for the freedom of our country: those who struggled for independence, struggled for a just revolution—which at that time was a revolution of independence which could not yet have been a socialist revolution; those who struggled throughout the period of the pseudorepublic, who struggled at the Moncada, on the *Granma* expedition and in the mountains, those who struggled in the underground; they were all in one way or another struggling for the only just revolution: the socialist Revolution. But those who struggled at Girón struggled directly for the socialist Revolution.

At that time I said: What the imperialists cannot forgive is that we are here, what the imperialists cannot forgive us for is the Cuban people's dignity, their integrity, their bravery, their ideological strength, their spirit of sacrifice, their revolutionary spirit . . . and that we have made a socialist Revolution right under their noses, under the nose of the United States itself . . . (APPLAUSE) and that we are defending that socialist Revolution with these guns, and that we are defending that socialist Revolution with the same courage shown by our anti-aircraft gunners yesterday as they riddled the enemy planes with bullets. And we do not defend that Revolution with mercenaries, we defend it with men and women of the people.

The poor have the weapons

Who has the weapons? I asked then. Do the mercenaries have the weapons? Do the millionaires have the weapons? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Because mercenaries and millionaires are the same thing. Do the rich kids have the weapons? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Do the overseers have the weapons? (SHOUTS OF



Havana, May Day 1981

Prensa Latina

"NO!") Who has the weapons? (SHOUTS OF "THE PEOPLE!") Whose hands raise those weapons? (SHOUTS OF "THE PEOPLE'S!") Are they the hands of the rich kids? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Are they the hands of the exploiters? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Whose hands are these that raise the weapons? (SHOUTS OF "THE PEOPLE'S!") "FIDEL, FIDEL, FIDEL!" "FIDEL, FOR SURE, HIT THE YANKEES HARD!" "FIDEL, FIDEL, GIVE 'EM HELL; LET'S MAKE 'EM RESPECT US WELL!" AND "THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!" Aren't they workers' hands? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Aren't they peasants' hands? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Aren't they hands calloused by work? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Aren't they hands that create? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Aren't they the humble hands of the people? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") And who are the majority of the people? The millionaires or the workers? (SHOUTS OF "THE WORKERS!") The exploiters or the exploited? (SHOUTS OF "THE EXPLOITED!") The privileged or the poor? (SHOUTS OF "THE POOR!") Do the poor have the weapons? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Are the privileged the minority? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Are the poor the majority? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") Is a revolution in which the poor have the weapons democratic? (SHOUTS OF "YES!")

Then I continued: Comrade workers and peasants: this is the socialist and democratic Revolution of the poor, with the poor and for the poor. And for this Revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor we are ready to give our lives. (APPLAUSE)

Comrade workers and peasants of the homeland: yesterday's attack was the prelude to mercenary aggression. Yesterday's attack, which took seven heroic lives, was meant to destroy our planes on the ground, and it failed; they only destroyed two planes and the bulk of the enemy planes were damaged or destroyed.

Here, before the tomb of our dead comrades; here, beside the remains of these heroic young men, sons of workers and sons of the poor, let us reaffirm our determination that, just as these men stood up to the enemy fire, just as they gave their lives, no matter when the mercenaries come, all of us, proud of our Revolution, proud to defend this Revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor, will not hesitate to defend the Rev-

olution against anyone, down to the last drop of blood. (APPLAUSE)

Thus the socialist nature of our Revolution was proclaimed that day. Exactly 20 years have passed and we have the same answers to the same questions; faced with the same threats, the same people have the same determination to struggle and to win.

Gains of socialism

Twenty years of socialist Revolution and socialism have brought many things to our country which no one, not even our fiercest enemies, would dare to deny. Socialism worked the miracle of eradicating illiteracy; that very same year 100,000 youngsters were teaching people throughout the country to read and write. Socialism brought us the Battle for the 6th Grade, which is now the minimum level of education achieved by all of our workers. Socialism brought us the battle we are now fighting to achieve a 9th grade education for everybody.

Socialism has sown schools, technological institutes, universities in our country. Socialism brought us into first place in Latin America in the field of education. No other Latin American country can boast today what Cuba can; (APPLAUSE) not even the United States can claim that it doesn't have illiterates—there are illiterates and many semiliterates in the United States, and there are many more who have only a 2nd, 3rd, or 4th grade education. As a result, we can say that socialism has put us in first place in the field of education in this hemisphere. (APPLAUSE)

Socialism worked the miracle of eliminating many diseases and reducing the number of deaths in the first year of life to less than 20 per 1000, something which no other Latin American country can claim and which puts us on an equal footing with the developed countries of the world. (APPLAUSE) Socialism has sown hospitals, polyclinics and health institutes, which through preventive medicine and effective treatment have put our country in first place, not only among the underdeveloped countries of Latin America but among those of the entire world.

Socialism worked the miracle of bringing our country into first place in Latin America in the field of culture. Socialism brought us sports for the people and brought us to the highest levels of achievement, so that we are now cham-

pions among the people of Latin America.

Socialism worked the miracle of eradicating unemployment in our country, putting an end to the layoffs every year at the end of the sugar harvest, and bringing us one of the highest levels of employment in all of Latin America. (APPLAUSE) Socialism worked the miracle of ending begging in our country, an ill that had existed for many centuries. It worked the miracle of eliminating drugs, prostitution and gambling. What other country in this hemisphere can say that? Could the United States say that? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") A country where crime, drugs, gambling and prostitution increase year by year? No, it could not say that. And it is socialism that has overcome those things in our country.

Socialism worked the miracle of undertaking the economic and social development which has gone ahead in our country for more than 20 years, under difficult conditions and in the midst of a criminal and brutal economic blockade imposed on us by the United States. Socialism has changed and continues to change the face of our land.

A changed island

In 20 years, throughout the length and breadth of the island, our cities have changed. Today Holguín, Granma, Camagüey, Santa Clara, Cienfuegos, Pinar del Río and many other cities in our country are practically unrecognizable. Socialism has dotted our country with factories; it has crisscrossed the island with roads and highways. Socialism has created great hydraulic resources for our agriculture; it transforms our fields and, with the tenacious and self-sacrificing effort of our people, builds a new country.

Socialism has brought a really deep awareness to our people. It has trained hundreds of thousands of technicians at different levels: tens of thousands at the university level, hundreds of thousands of intermediate-level technicians and skilled workers. Suffice it to say, for example, that at present over 15,000 doctors are working in our hospitals and polyclinics, and that five years from now that figure will be well over 20,000, closer to 25,000.

Another example: over 200,000 teachers, most of whom graduated under socialism, are now working in our

Fidel: Socialism has worked miracles

By Harry Ring

As Cuba celebrates July 26, one of its major holidays, Washington is pressing harder with its anti-Cuba drive.

On July 11, Havana announced the capture of five U.S.-based terrorists. Their mission, to commit sabotage and to try to assassinate Fidel Castro.

Credit for the mission was taken by Alpha 66, a gang of counterrevolutionary thugs trained in their murderous arts by the CIA and permitted to violate U.S. law with impunity.

Shortly before this episode, the U.S. Customs Service confirmed that since last May it has been seizing all Cuban publications addressed to U.S. subscribers.

Why does Washington fear the printed word coming in from Cuba?

It has feared revolutionary Cuba from the outset. And July 26 symbolizes well what it is they fear.

It was on that date in 1953 that 200 determined young revolutionists led by Fidel Castro attacked the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba. They aimed to seize arms and to summon the Cuban people to rise up against the hated Batista dictatorship. They were convinced that the Cuban people could be won to a revolutionary struggle.

They did not accomplish their aims that July 26. But their confidence in the revolutionary potential of the Cuban people was soon vindicated.

The attack on Moncada was smashed. Seventy of the guerrillas were killed. Many of the others, including Fidel, were jailed on the Isle of Youth, then called the Isle of Pines.

But soon after, Batista was compelled to release them. Fidel and others soon went to Mexico.

In Mexico they trained for their return. At the end of 1956, they sailed

for Cuba on the boat *Granma*. Batista's troops were waiting, and only a handful made it up into the Sierra Maestra where they began to organize guerrilla war.

Two short years later, on January 1, 1959, Batista fled to Miami as the Rebel Army marched across Cuba to Havana.

It was very soon after the Cuban revolution came to power that Washington realized that its leadership could not be corrupted, or intimidated. These were revolutionary fighters who were determined from the outset to achieve the goal of national independence, democracy, agrarian reform, and a better life for the Cuban people.

This was why Washington vowed early on to destroy the Cuban revolution.

The beginnings of an economic blockade were first imposed in 1960. A year later the embargo was complete.

It was during those critical early years that the Cuban leadership recognized that the goals of the revolution could not be realized within the framework of capitalism.

They unhesitatingly took the anti-capitalist road.

Nor was this imposed on the Cuban people from above. It had the enthusiastic support of the great majority.

On April 15, 1961, six bombers with Cuban markings bombed Cuba's three main airfields. The planes returned to Miami, where it was declared that the pilots were "defectors" from the Cuban air force. Like the planes themselves, this brazen lie was quickly proven to be made in the USA.

On April 16, the day following the plane attack, Fidel made a speech declaring the revolution socialist. That

was the day before the U.S.-organized invasion force of counterrevolutionary exiles hit the beach at Playa Girón (the Bay of Pigs).

Inspired by a socialist perspective, as well as by what the revolution had already accomplished, the Cuban people rallied in defense of their homeland. Within twenty-four hours, the U.S.-organized invasion was smashed.

It was a jolting defeat for Washington. But the U.S. government never gave up on its perspective of destroying the Cuban revolution.

The political and economic war against Cuba was pressed relentlessly.

In 1975, the anti-Cuba drive was escalated. This came after Cuba boldly sent internationalist fighters to help the Angolan people repel a South African invasion.

In one particularly brazen provocation, Carter announced in April 1980 that the Marines would conduct a "practice" invasion of Guantánamo Bay, where the Pentagon still holds a naval base against the declared will of the Cuban people.

That sinister announcement was answered by an unparalleled demonstration of the Cuban people. It was so massive, so militant, that Carter beat a retreat, calling the military maneuver off.

But meanwhile, U.S. trained exiles have been given added leash. In flagrant defiance of the U.S. Neutrality Act, they train in Florida's Everglades for sorties into Cuba. They have conducted bombings and assassinations in this country with impunity.

In one such incident last September, a Cuban attaché to the United Nations was gunned down by members of Omega 7, a group of exile

killers well connected in this country.

Recently, New York's Mayor Edward Koch bestowed "freedom" awards on several people involved with this murderous outfit.

In 1979-80, we saw Carter attempt to exploit the refugee issue for anti-Cuba purposes. This backfired when Cuba opened the port of Mariel for all who wanted to leave.

Why does Washington fear Cuba?

Quite simply, because of the revolutionary course it follows and the inspiring example it sets.

Washington cannot abide Cuba's solidarity with revolutionary Nicaragua and Grenada and its identification with the struggle in El Salvador and with all others who fight for liberation.

In his speech of last April 16, Fidel began by recalling the circumstances of his speech of twenty years ago. He then went on to discuss what socialist revolution has meant for Cuba.

It is that larger portion that we reprint here.

Among the topics Castro takes up is the rapid growth of the Territorial Troops Militia, initiated as Washington was stepping up threats to Cuba in the spring of 1980.

This formation is organizing, training, and arming millions of Cubans to defend their homeland. The enthusiastic response to the formation of the militias is a sure sign of the overwhelming popular support for Cuba's socialist revolution.

We believe this speech offers a fitting reminder of why we celebrate July 26. It illuminates why the rulers of this country fear and hate the Cuban revolution. And why that revolution means so much for the oppressed of the entire world—including here in the United States.

universities, polytechnics, vocational schools, technological institutes, elementary schools and day-care centers. Our Technical Youth Brigades of inventors have over 140,000 members. Socialism has created a different kind of human being, a new kind of human being in our country.

Socialism opened up our relations with the world and we now occupy, next to the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, a place in the vanguard of the world's most progressive peoples, (APPLAUSE) among the peoples struggling to establish juster societies, more humane societies. Is our socialist society or is it not a thousand times more just, a thousand times more humane than capitalist society? Can anybody deny this? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Socialism has brought us that!

And along with justice and awareness it has brought our people tremendous social development. It has brought us the development of enormous forces such as our mass organizations, our worker organizations, our Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, our peasant organizations, women's organizations, youth organizations, students' organizations, even the Pioneer organization, all of them extraordinary forces that are contributing to the consolidation and further development of our Revolution.

Revolutionary awareness under socialism has brought us a vanguard Party, a Party of organized, disciplined, conscious Communists. The 400,000-plus members of our Party and the 400,000-plus members of our Young Communist League are a demonstration of what the ideas of socialism and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have brought to our country and what they have created here. (APPLAUSE)

And all this happened, even though we didn't always know how best to avail ourselves of all the advantages and possibilities of socialism. We could say that perhaps our accomplishments might have been greater or higher or fuller if we'd known how best to use all those possibi-

ties and advantages over the past 20 years.

We didn't always act wisely, as we said during the 2nd Congress, we didn't always take the best decisions. But we were certainly always able, with all the honesty in the world, to detect in time any error, any wrong decision, recognize it, rectify it and carry on; because even when you travel through the mountains with the help of a compass—and our compass is socialism, our compass is Marxism-Leninism—from time to time there can be some drifting away from the right path—just as ships sailing on the ocean occasionally drift off course a little—but you always keep going ahead in the right direction.

For us, the socialist road was something entirely new, a course that was being embarked on for the first time not only in our country but in the rest of the hemisphere as well. But we can assert, above all else, that we've known how to use our time, that we've been capable of rectifying mistakes and that today our Revolution is stronger and more solid than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

Surpassed sugar goal

These are not mere words. You, the workers, peasants, students, men and women, you, the fighters know very well what's being done in our country. The sugar harvest alone is a good example. In spite of the blights—which we fought and overcame—the sugar harvest is being carried out with better organization and greater efficiency than ever before. It's now April 16 and our work in the sugar harvest is practically done. The overall grinding rate stands at 89 percent, a figure that the capitalists never reached—the best they ever did was 85 percent. (APPLAUSE) And in spite of the fact that our sugar harvest is not based on manual work and animal traction but rather on tractors, trucks, cane harvesters and other machines—which are much more affected by rain and mud—we surpassed the target of 85 percent which we had set ourselves, and we've reached 89 percent.

We confronted the problem of the tobacco blight, and this year our country has reached an all-time record in tobacco production, (APPLAUSE) along with an all-time record in the production of vegetables and other produce, and an all-time record in citrus fruit. In fact, we've had record crops in many branches of our agriculture.

Construction work is being carried out with greater organization and efficiency. We are building a number of plants that require thousands of construction workers, for example the nickel complex in Moa, the textile plant in Santiago de Cuba, the spinning mill in Havana, the thermoelectric power plant east of Havana and our first nuclear-powered electric plant, already under construction in Cienfuegos. In spite of the imperialist blockade and the deep crisis that is now affecting a great part of the world, and thanks to the friendly, fraternal and generous solidarity of the Soviet Union, the rest of the socialist community and other progressive countries, our country is making steady progress—and that's something that even our worst enemies can't deny. (APPLAUSE)

We have learned how to manage our economy, our factories and our agricultural centers; we have learned how to manage our schools, hospitals and public services with increasing efficiency; but the most important thing is that we will keep on learning more and more. This is because, among other things, socialism means that we are the owners of our factories, our mines, our railroads, our ports, our merchant fleet, our lands, our natural resources. Everything in our country belongs to our workers, our peasants, our students, our men and our women! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) We own everything we have and we have the right to do our best with what we have.

Speaking of men and women, I often use the term "men," but not as a means to discriminate against women, rather as a generic term encompassing the species, men and women.

When I mentioned the things that socialism made possible I left out another one of our great successes: the end of the cruel discrimination against women and of the cruel racial discrimination that existed in our country, the discrimination on grounds of race or sex. (APPLAUSE) So we could also ask this question: Has the United States eradicated racial discrimination? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Has the United States eradicated discrimination against women, the exploitation of women, the prostitution of women? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") No, a thousand times no! (APPLAUSE)

These are truths. The facts speak for themselves; they are convincing facts which explain and demonstrate what socialism has meant to our country; hence the importance of the date we're celebrating today.

But is the security of our country any different from what it was in the past? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") No, here we are again, getting ready again because again we're being threatened, because new aggressive policies against Cuba are being formulated, because the imperialists are talking about blockades again—and no longer just about economic blockades, but rather about naval, military blockades. Again the imperialists are threatening us, talking about aggression. Hence the similarity between this April 16 and that April 16. This is why we're again having to make a great effort to defend ourselves, to mobilize the people, men and women, all our people, to organize the Territorial Troop Militia and to accelerate the work of fortification and buttressing our defense capacity in every way.

New world relationship

Ah, but there are also differences between this April and that April, quite a few differences. For example, there have been important changes in the world since 1961. The balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has shifted; there have been major changes in the world, and there have also been

Continued on next page

...Fidel on 20 years of socialist revolution

Continued from preceding page

very important changes in our country. In April 1961, the first tanks, field guns and antiaircraft guns sent to us by the Soviet Union had arrived only a few weeks before. They were the very first we had and we were just learning how to use them. We had also acquired some weapons in the Western world; they were the first weapons purchased by the Revolution, so that the imperialists wouldn't be able to say that we were receiving socialist weapons. And remember too something that happened at that time: the freighter *La Coubre* was blown up in a brutal, savage act which killed some 100 workers and soldiers.

In those days we had those FAL rifles that were raised aloft at the corner of 12th and 23rd Streets, and we also had the first field guns and tanks, which we were hastily learning how to handle. But we didn't have enough instructors, and it often happened that what our militia members learned in the morning they taught to thousands of others in the afternoon. Thus, in view of the imminent attack, by doing the very best we could, given the situation, hundreds of field gun, antiaircraft and other batteries were organized and hundreds of thousands of militia members throughout the country mobilized in a matter of weeks. There were around 50,000 militia members in the capital alone. And it was like that right across the country. Our army was beginning to learn all about handling modern weapons. And how much time has passed since then, and how far have we come?

Today we have tens of thousands of regular and reserve officers in our Revolutionary Armed Forces; today we have a degree of knowledge, experience, organization and technical know-how we didn't have then. At that time we didn't have, as we have now, the hundreds of thousands of reservists who have served in our Revolutionary Armed Forces or the tens upon tens of thousands—no, more than that—the tens upon tens of thousands of internationalist fighters who have been through the experience of combat, war and sacrifice. (APPLAUSE)

At that time we didn't have the possibilities we have now, that have enabled us to mobilize hundreds of thousands of combatants in the Territorial Troop Militia and to train many cadres and chiefs in just a few weeks. (APPLAUSE) It can be said with certainty that never before was such a large force organized so quickly and efficiently. The record time in which we are organizing and training the Territorial Troop Militia and their cadres is proof of how far we've come in terms of organizational ability and experience.

This means that we're not fooling around; the Revolution doesn't fool around. It knows how to do things seriously and it is doing things seriously.

We're not trembling, we're not scared by the imperialists' threats. On the contrary, we turn those threats into a force,



Perspectiva Mundial/José G. Pérez

Member of Antonio Maceo Brigade, right, which is made up of Cubans living in U.S., interviews Young Pioneers in Havana.

and we could say to the imperialists—who made so much use of the slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor" and remember many other things—a few slogans of our own like "Remember Girón," "Remember Girón!" (APPLAUSE) Girón should have been a lesson to teach them to deal with Cuba in a different way. They thought that when their little planes showed up everybody here was going to be scared out of their wits, but it took only seconds for our militia to respond to the enemy attack by opening fire.

That's what our militia artillerymen, whose average age was between 15 and 20, did; that's what the militia in Girón and everywhere else did as soon as the enemy appeared. At that time the imperialists were saying they expected our people to stage an uprising, etc. And they had visions of our troops being defeated and scared off. But what happened? They underestimated our people's ability, our people's dignity, courage and heroism, while their brigades, their planes and tanks lasted as long as a lit candle lasts in a rainstorm. (APPLAUSE)

Message to Washington

However, at that time we were prepared to fend off not just one mercenary invasion but rather ten mercenary invasions. And when our tanks reached Girón and set up positions there, face to face with the Yankee warships and aircraft carriers, everybody was very calm and every gun was loaded and ready to fire. In other words, we're not afraid of the

imperialists, we're not afraid of their soldiers, we will not hesitate for a single moment to defend our soil, our country, our Revolution.

We will not hesitate even for a moment, and the imperialists should be well aware of this. They shouldn't forget this experience. If they think they're going to settle the differences between Cuba and the United States through attacks and threats, they're mistaken! If they think they're going to intimidate us, scare us, bring us to our knees by dint of threats and attacks, they're mistaken! This is what we've always told the imperialists and this is what we want to say to them today! (APPLAUSE)

Our ideas are very clear, our convictions are very deep, our decisions are very resolute: we don't want war, we are not in the habit of provoking conflicts and we don't want to do so, but they should beware of provoking us! They should beware of dragging us into a war, into a conflict! (APPLAUSE) If they impose a conflict on us, if they impose war on us, they'll find out what a resolute people are like, what a communist people, a patriotic people, a Marxist-Leninist people, an internationalist people are like. (APPLAUSE)

This is because socialism made us even more patriotic, because socialism taught us what internationalism means. We're an internationalist people, very much aware of our rights, (APPLAUSE) very sure of our ideas and of our cause. We have a lot of dignity and are very sure of ourselves.

The imperialists should know that, whereas our people were strong in the days of Girón, today they are 100 times stronger (APPLAUSE) and better prepared militarily, politically and psychologically.

Now we're again forced to mobilize and prepare ourselves, but this won't make us neglect our revolutionary tasks, our creative work. We will not neglect our factories, our fields, our construction sites, our hospitals, our schools, our public services, and this is why we have to make an extra effort. It's true that this takes up a great deal of our time, it's true that it calls for great energy to prepare to defend our country, and it's true that it calls for resources. But our people have the ability of multiplying themselves and, in circumstances such as these, a man becomes two or even three men, a woman becomes two, three and even 100 women, and when circumstances so require, what normally takes two hours to do is done in one, and work goes on as long as necessary.

We have the resources within us, in our energy, in our will, and this is why we will make this effort to defend our

country along with the effort of developing the country and increasing production. That's another thing we'll teach the imperialists so they won't deceive themselves into believing that we're neglecting the development of the country and production while we're organizing and preparing ourselves for defense. We're going to show them that in these difficult circumstances our people rise to the occasion and are capable of handling the two tasks at the same time: strengthening our defense and strengthening our economy! (APPLAUSE)

In the Territorial Troop Militia there are men of different ages, either because they're very young and haven't done their military service yet or because they're engaged in important production tasks or because they're beyond the age limit to be in the Revolutionary Armed Forces reserves. The women are also of different ages; they are workers, peasants, students. In all, the Militia constitutes a formidable force that, along with the regular troops of our Revolutionary Armed Forces, make for an entire people armed and ready to defend themselves.

The imperialists have imposed this effort on us, the same way that they imposed the blockade on us, but our Revolution is over 22 years old, 20 years have passed since Girón, and here we are, building socialism for more than 20 years, and we'll be here, doing the same for another 20 and the next 20 and as many more as necessary. And if we do things the right way, we'll have an increasingly patriotic, united and aware people, a people better equipped to cope with any test. Others may be used to trembling before the imperialists' threats, but not our people. Never! (APPLAUSE)

We should meditate on this date, on this day, and from the bottom of our hearts resolve to make whatever efforts are necessary to fulfill our sacred duties to our country and to socialism.

Circumstances have made this day closely resemble that day exactly 20 years ago. However, happy circumstances have made possible a scene such as this one, to see a people like this, with the same awareness, or better said, with even greater awareness and with the same determination, or even more, than 20 years ago. (APPLAUSE) Once again we can repeat what we said on April 16, 1961: Let us swear to defend this cause of the poor, by the poor and for the poor! (SHOUTS OF "LET US SWEAR!") Let us swear to defend our socialist Revolution down to the last drop of blood! (SHOUTS OF "LET US SWEAR!")

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Case of the political prisoner who wasn't

By Will Reissner

Enemies of the Cuban revolution have recently seized upon the case of Armando Valladares as the latest stick with which to beat the Castro government. In recent months there has been a spate of articles in the press in Europe and North and South America about Valladares, the paralyzed poet political prisoner.

In the June 4-17 *London Review of Books*, for example, Cuban emigré novelist Cabrera Infante wrote of Valladares:

"Let me speak now of sadder, wiser men, like Valladares and Cuadra, poets in prison, captive minds in captive bodies. Armando Valladares, the poet in a wheelchair as he has been called in France, was condemned to 30 years in gaol in the early Sixties, when he was barely 20. In prison, as a result of ill-treatment and his various hunger strikes in protest against ill-treatment, he became an invalid."

In a June 3, 1980, dispatch, the Associated Press described Valladares in these terms: "Valladares, age 43, a nationalist Catholic, took part in the struggle against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, but was sentenced to 30 years in prison in 1960 by the Castro regime."

According to Agence France-Presse, the French news service, "Valladares, a nationalist and Catholic, 43, has been in prison for twenty years. When he was a student he took part in the fall of the dictator Fulgencio Batista. When Fidel Castro came to power, Valladares was taken into custody and sentenced in 1960 to 30 years in prison."

An article in *Diario de las Americas*, a right-wing Miami daily, adds the detail that "in 1970, as a result of hunger, beatings, and other mistreatment, Valladares lost the use of his legs."

A made-to-order case

So here we have a case that seems made to order for enemies of the Cuban revolution. Valladares is the perfect political

prisoner—a participant in the struggle against Batista and by implication a disillusioned supporter of Castro, a poet, a Catholic, crippled by mistreatment in the dictator's prisons.

And because none of these dispatches mentions why he was imprisoned, the reader is left with the impression that it must have been something he wrote, or perhaps his Catholicism.

The reason this case is made to order for opponents of the Cuban revolution is precisely because it really has been almost entirely made up! There's hardly a word of truth in the whole thing!

Let's look a little more carefully at the descriptions of Valladares contained in these reports.

First, Valladares was 24, not "barely 20," when he was arrested; he did not take part in the revolution against Batista; and he was not a student. In fact, he was a *policeman* under Batista. On October 7, 1957, at a time when thousands of students were involved in the struggle to overthrow the Cuban dictator, Valladares joined Batista's police force, and remained on active duty until the victory of the revolution.

Second, Valladares was not a poet. He did not publish a single line of poetry prior to his arrest and began writing only after he had been in prison for quite some time.

Third, Valladares is not paralyzed!

The real story

Finally, none of the reports on Valladares mentions why he was imprisoned. The reader is left with the impression that it was for something he wrote, for some political offense. Very convenient, but not true.

Valladares's real story was revealed by Héctor Fernández Pardo in an article for the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina. It appeared in the Managua daily, *El Nuevo Mundo*. Earlier José A. Pagés wrote an article in the Spanish magazine, *Interviú*.

Valladares was arrested on December 27, 1960, with sixteen other people. All

were charged with planting bombs in public places. In the house where they were arrested, police seized ammunition, weapons, dynamite and other explosives, and materials for making bombs.

The arrest took place at a time when Washington was stepping up its attacks against the Cuban revolution. Less than two weeks earlier, the Eisenhower administration had totally eliminated the Cuban sugar quota.

Following a trial, Valladares was sentenced in 1961 to thirty years in prison. In March 1973 that sentence was reviewed and reduced to twenty-five years. It should be noted that the leader of Valladares's terrorist group, Oliver Obregón Obregón, who was also sentenced to thirty years, was released in November 1979 because of good behavior while in prison.

Sentenced as terrorist

So Valladares was sentenced to prison as a terrorist, not as a poet or even as a former member of Batista's police force. In fact, Valladares suffered no reprisals for his police duty. With the victory of the revolution he was dropped from the police force "for the good of the service." But after a period during which he worked as a traveling perfume salesman, he was hired by the Ministry of Communications, where he was employed until his arrest.

Much has been made of Armando Valladares's physical afflictions. His one volume of poems was published in Europe under the title *From My Wheelchair*.

Valladares has engaged in numerous hunger strikes while in prison. As a result he began to exhibit difficulties in movement. He has been treated in various hospitals, including the Frank Pais Orthopedic Hospital in Havana, one of the most modern facilities in all of Latin America. While he was a patient there (October 26, 1978, to April 2, 1980), he was diagnosed and treated by a team of specialists including Raúl Candesat,

Tais Ramos, and Humberto Barrera.

The doctors described Valladares's case to Spanish journalist José A. Pagés. According to the physicians, "Armando Valladares suffered from a 'polineuropathic deficiency' due to a failure to take food. Valladares has carried out at least fifteen hunger strikes.

"His muscular development," the doctors continued, "was that of a healthy man; we detected the presence of reflexes, and there was definitely no muscular atrophy."

"Therefore, his rehabilitation was not difficult. We carried out a therapy based on high doses of B-complex vitamins, vitamin C, intensive physiotherapy, and a high protein diet (fruit, vegetables, meat, milk, etc.), including foods that had to be imported."

The attending physicians added that "generally, he refused to follow the treatment, because he was tired or because he felt like writing, etc. He was released [from the hospital] when he refused to follow the treatment."

"In December 1979, a consultation was held with the best specialists in the country, and it was determined that he suffered from a 'polineuropathic deficiency,' but not of the intensity that he is claiming."

In short, he doesn't need a wheelchair.

Although the capitalist press claims that Valladares was subjected to constant mistreatment and beatings during the years he has been in prison, Pagés visited Valladares in the prison hospital and found that "Armando Valladares doesn't look like he is 42 years old [actually he was 44 at the time]. He could pass for a man of 35." This hardly fits the image of a poor intellectual wasting away in prison.

Eliseo Diego, a prominent Catholic writer in Cuba, told Pagés that "it was irritating to have foreign sources impose 'an intellectual' on us, whom we don't even know, who has only written one book of poems—quite bad to be sure, and who is in prison for a crime of terrorism."

From Intercontinental Press

'Hungry' Cubans enjoy a day at the beach

By a Cuban visitor

NEW YORK—Soon after arriving here, I read an article from Havana in the July 6 *New York Times*. Reporter Jo Thomas said she has seen lots of hungry people at the beach there.

This is the very same Jo Thomas who, fifteen months ago, reported that some of the 10,000-odd Cubans who sought asylum in the Peruvian embassy in Havana were subsisting on the flesh of cats and dogs, plus boiled tree bark.

True, there was a food problem at the embassy. But not the one so vividly described by Thomas. The future refugees—the antisocials, the scum, the fainthearted, and the misled—were supplied

As I see it

with food by the Cuban government. However, the law of the jungle governing the society for which they yearned began to be applied right there on the embassy grounds. The "natural leaders" cornered the food, controlled the movement of weaker asylum seekers, and frequently prevented children from receiving milk.

However, after their departure, the stray dog and cat population emerged rather more intact than some of the local population might have wished.

Now, in a report on her most recent visit, Thomas does cite some of the gains of the revolution—free schooling and medical care, low rent, child care, etc.

But, she adds, a big problem seems to be severely rationed food and low income.

She lists the monthly quota of some items that are available only in small amounts—meat, chicken, rice, and beans.



Young Cuban Pioneers at the beach

But she doesn't indicate that fresh fish, eggs, yogurt, and vegetables are unrationed and inexpensive.

Nor does she seem aware that ham and several kinds of cheese are sold in the supermarkets, also unrationed. Butter is unrationed, at about \$1.40, U.S.

Or, take tomato paste. Rationed it is, as Jo Thomas says. Just one small can a month. But there are canned tomatoes, catsup, and tomato juice—all unrationed.

Not to mention the fact that Cuba has the highest nutrition level in all of Latin America.

Thomas's Cuba food update takes her to Santa Maria, one of the loveliest beaches in the Havana area.

On a Sunday visit, she reports, "it was clear that very few of the hundreds of Cubans enjoying the water had brought picnic lunches or were able to buy anything to eat."

To illustrate, she describes how Cubans stared at "foreign visitors" with a beer cooler and hot dogs, until "finally, a tough-looking man strode up and demanded food, saying rather belligerently, 'I'm hungry.'"

One does wonder how hundreds of Cubans could be enjoying the water while hungry.

It is true that Cubans are not big picnickers, and rarely take anything to the beach but drinking water for the kids, or a minor snack. Here, one pertinent factor is the deeply rooted tradition against going into the water less than three hours after eating.

Do Cubans really flock to the beach hungry, either because there is no food, or they don't have the wherewithal to buy it? Very few Cubans are unemployed. True, as Thomas points out, wages are not high. But neither are the prices of most necessities.

One possibility is that some of those on the beach who looked washed out may have simply been recuperating from Santa Maria's outdoor disco, featuring all-day dancing on Sunday beginning at 8 a.m. and a sign that announces "COLD BEER."

In any event, the next time Jo Thomas visits Santa Maria, she might find it interesting to follow some Cubans from the water, across the burning sands, and into an eating facility.

Perhaps La Barca, specializing in seafood, El Caribe, with well-prepared chicken and pork dishes; the Atlantico, featuring specialty pizzas; or the many cafeterias and snack bars from one end of Santa Maria to the other.

For Jo Thomas, a whole new world could open the next time she does the Cuban food scene.



What Poland's workers want

Solidarity union draft program—Part II

This week, the 'Militant' presents the second installment of a three-part serialization of the draft program of Solidarity, Poland's independent union movement.

The program was drawn up by a commission of Solidarity, discussed by its National Coordinating Committee, then published in 'Solidarity Weekly,' the union's national newspaper. It is now being discussed by Solidarity's more than ten million members.

Part I of this document, published by us last week, took up the political sources of the crisis in Polish society. That is, control of the government by a privileged bureaucracy that prevents democratic decision-making.

In Part II, the union takes a look at Poland's economic condition.

Like workers here, workers in Poland face an economic crisis. The roots of their problem, though, are different from ours.

Poland's socialized economy, says Solidarity, was victimized by 'long-term economic policies carried out in an over-ambitious and unrealistic manner by a narrow group of people and institutions that function outside any social control.'

In an attempt to avoid the consequences of their corruption and mismanagement, the bureaucrats began taking out loans from foreign capitalist

banks. This made matters worse: the Polish national debt is now \$24 billion.

In its draft program—and in what it does, too—Solidarity responds in several ways to this crisis.

One, it defends those who are hit hardest by the crisis. Solidarity demands a 'social minimum' income, a government guarantee of full employment, price subsidies for the poorest workers, and a tax that falls heaviest on the privileged elements.

Two, it champions the demands of the working farmers.

Three, it calls for workers' control of economic planning and self-management of individual enterprises.

Workers in the U.S. are always told we need to be told what to do by corporation heads and executives because they're the only ones who really understand the big picture and can make the big decisions.

The Solidarity draft program proves this is false. It analyzes the problems of an entire society and makes proposals to reorganize that society. It was written by workers.

The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

—Steve Bride

III. Economic Questions

1. The recurrent economic crisis

The deep economic crisis in our country is manifested primarily in the enormous and growing disproportion between the supply and demand of goods and services found throughout the economy. This crisis did not arise in the last few months or the last few years, but has grown steadily over the past decade. It flowed from a serious deterioration of the productive apparatus that made it incapable of satisfying demand, either in terms of quantity or variety. The crisis has directly affected the living standards of the whole society, the conditions of work, and the real wages of working people. At present, with the crisis still deepening, we face a real drop in these already low wages.

The economic crisis of the Polish People's Republic affects its structure, economic policy, and system. And in the last few years, in addition, unfavorable conjunctural factors have appeared.

A. Defects in the economic structure as the immediate cause of the difficulties

The structural character of the crisis expresses itself in the continual and increasing disproportion between the sector of the economy that serves the needs of the people and the sector that is directed toward developing industrial production. An excessive part of the country's economic potential is used for the production of machinery and tools to produce more machinery and tools, rather than for the production of consumer goods, which is relegated to a secondary role. This is particularly true of agriculture, a section of the economy that provides for the primary needs of the people and that employs a quarter of the population, but that has been pushed into a subordinate place in the country's economy. It is obvious that an economy with this kind of structure cannot provide working people with even a reasonable standard of living.

B. Long-term defects in economic policy

The structural disproportions in the economy are the outcome of long-term economic policies carried out in an over-ambitious and unrealistic manner by a narrow group of people and institutions that function outside any social control. The concentration of decision-making in the main centers of authority, the absence of accounting, and the chaos in pricing policies make social control totally impossible, in any case.

There has thus been a situation of total economic arbitrariness and irresponsibility, leading to economic decisions that have been harmful. Huge investments have been made without sufficient reason and without first assuring



Gdansk memorial for victims of 1970 government massacre of Polish workers.

that there was the necessary transport, energy, and linkage to other sectors of the economy to make them feasible. Within this framework, the voluntaristic policies were especially discriminatory against individual farmers, particularly in terms of low prices and the insufficient allocation of machinery.

To try to compensate for these inefficient economic policies and this inefficient system, more and more foreign loans were taken out. The capitalist

bankers were expected to finance this economically decrepit centrally planned state economy. But the loans have to be repaid—and with interest—something that can only be done by an efficient economy. Thus, this way of compensating for inefficiency could not be used for long; to the contrary, it would become an additional factor in the economic breakdown.

The final result of this has been the colossal debt of more than \$24 billion.

And this is not counting short-term loans and the prospect of further indebtedness. The country must set aside more for the payment of interest and of credit installments than is earned by exports. This means that every import must be supported by additional credits. And such additional credits are becoming harder to get from the foreign banks and have stiffer conditions than before (higher interest rates and less time to repay). Quite simply, we are being rated as bankrupt and are being treated accordingly.

In such a situation, the economy cannot be assured of enough imported goods from the West. There must therefore be a sharp curtailment of raw materials and semi-finished goods and even spare parts—and this above all has been the reason for the underutilization of productive capacity in our economy.

C. Factors built into the system

The deepest causes of the crisis are lodged in the system itself. All economic decisions are monopolized by the main centers of authority, which issue orders to individual enterprises on what, how much, and in what way things should be produced. This is known as administering the economy through a system of command-distribution. In such a situation, individual enterprises do not have any freedom in the determination of the production plan or in the choice of methods, thereby leading to the making of unrealistic economic calculations at all levels of the enterprises. Nor does economic accounting play a prominent role in central planning, since there is a lack of accurate information on real costs. This aggravates the tendency of enterprises to maximize costs and promotes their interest in valuing realization of the plan, including expanding costs. Greater concentration of decision-making ultimately causes complete underutilization of mechanisms for motivating people.

All of this together leads to enormous waste of labor and resources. It is enough to say that in the production of a unit of national income, we must use up considerably more raw materials, energy transport, and labor than do the French and West German economies.

D. Incidental factors

There are also certain factors that are dictated by the conjunctural situation that has plagued our country in the last few years, such as a poor year in agriculture in 1980. From this point of view, it must be kept in mind that any economy must be prepared for conjunctural difficulties and must have reserves, so as not to break down under the impact of those difficulties. But if it does collapse under the temporary impact of unfavorable circumstances, then they no longer constitute the objective causes of the collapse, but are the result of a faulty eco-

conomic system, bad policies, and a deeply unbalanced economic structure.

Because of all these factors, the economy of the Polish People's Republic has been functioning badly. One expression of this has been a slower rate of growth in the national income, and for more than two years a sharp drop in the national income. As a result, the country is going through a serious crisis that threatens to bring about a complete collapse of the national economy.

2. Economic reform

A. Support for reform as a condition for its success

This analysis shows that the present economic system does not correspond to the existing social and economic needs. The only way to overcome the crisis on a long-term basis and lead our economy down the road of balanced development is fundamental reform of the system to remove the causes of the constantly recurring crises. Our union fully supports economic reform and thinks that it is in the interests of our members and of society as a whole.

The way in which our support for reform must be expressed includes a broad preliminary discussion of its underlying principles and a clear definition of its direction, form, and aims. By clarifying through discussion the precise character of the reforms we want, we prevent them from becoming trivialized or distorted.

However, Solidarity will not advance its own reform program, since it thinks that the desired shape of the reforms can be worked out through a discussion of already existing proposals. A question can be asked, however. Should not Solidarity join in actively developing and carrying through the reforms, for example, by working out its own proposals for solving the key problems?

The reforms should be the result of free, public discussion by specialists, but they should be implemented by the government authorities, who control the whole economy. The task of the union, on the other hand, is to see to it that the reforms introduced will actually improve the position of working people. The union thus supports those economic reforms that will be in keeping with the principles of social justice and that will bring the greatest likelihood of a long-term—and not just an immediate—improvement in the country's economic state.

In defining the conditions that must be fulfilled in the process of reform, we recognize that to achieve real and far-reaching improvements sometimes means to sacrifice immediate interests. But we can only accept this risk if all decisions concerning the reforms are made in consultation with us and with the entire society, if a full accounting of all the benefits and disadvantages of each particular solution are presented to us, and if the basic principles of the government's social policy are worked out in collaboration with us and strictly adhered to.

B. The character of expected changes

Economic reforms should reshape the structure and functioning of the central planning bodies, the main centers of authority, the socialized enterprises, and the other elements in the economic system.

Central planning should no longer have the character of a commander giving out orders. That is, it must not assign tasks to the enterprises by issuing directives and prohibitions. The ways to induce the enterprises to adopt certain policies must be economic ones (such as the use of prices, taxes, and the like).

Central plans should be strategic in character, not merely concerned with current operations, and should cover a period of several years. The goals of the central plan, which determines the overall direction of economic development, should be arrived at through the active involvement of society.

The participation of society in the planning process and in control over planning should be ensured by open dis-

cussion and decision-making through the medium of the Sejm [parliament] and through social organizations, local self-government bodies, and the trade unions. This control should be concerned with the overall direction of economic development, the rate of growth, and the distribution of the national income between investment and consumption, including the main trends of social consumption. This social control should also safeguard the autonomous socialized enterprises and family businesses from restrictive orders by economic and social administrative agencies. Intermediate links between the enterprises and the central economic authorities, such as the ministries for certain branches of industry or associations of enterprises in certain industries, should be eliminated to a considerable extent.

Socialized concerns should be given the freedom to determine their production plans and methods. In this connection, the centralized distribution of raw materials and other elements of production should be limited and eventually done away with. The concerns should be self-financing, that is, they should be able to cover their costs out of their own earnings. They should be evaluated not on the basis of fulfilling the plan, but on the basis of economic efficiency. An enterprise should be free to dispose of resources it has earned through greater efficiency, and to earmark them for further investment, especially for maintaining equipment.

The way the concern functions, the degree to which it is autonomous, and the manner in which it is administered by society will depend on its character and size. A precondition for the proper functioning of an enterprise under the new system is the de-monopolization of the market and the appearance of competing producers to a certain extent.

Changing the price system will be a serious dilemma for Solidarity. It will be necessary to change it for the efficient functioning of the enterprises, but may be difficult to carry out in cases where retail prices are affected. And change will have to be accompanied by wage compensation; moreover, the entire union and public opinion in general will have to be convinced of its usefulness. There needs to be broad discussion on this question.

Production units under different forms of ownership should have the same legal and economic conditions for development under the new system. Concerns that are owned socially, cooperatively, and communally, as well as by individual families, should be treated equally in terms of market prices, supplies, and employment and tax policies. It is particularly necessary to eliminate all restrictions on the development of family farms and family-owned handicraft and service shops.

One of the key economic tasks facing the country is developing a national food program based on the strength of Polish agriculture itself. The following must become the main elements of this program: full respect for the private ownership of land by individual farmers, and a substantial step-up in the provision to them of farming machinery, tools, chemical fertilizers, and other materials needed to increase agricultural production.

The operation of such a free-market planned economy will produce certain social problems on which our union must take a clear position.

The union recognizes that the enterprises will have the right to make changes in their employment level as they need to. But the government authorities will still be responsible for carrying out a full employment policy, although this policy must no longer hinder productive concerns. Enough money must be allocated by the government for the creation of new jobs and to cover the costs of retraining and transferring people from one industry or office to another economic activity or trade. The self-financing of the enterprises may also result in some having to cut back or close down. In that case, however, the union will demand beforehand that the inter-

ests of the workforce be protected.

Effective participation of the workforce in the profits of an enterprise may also increase the differentiation in incomes between workers in one concern and another. That is something that should also be discussed within the union.

The extensive introduction of autonomy for each enterprise and reliance on a market system may result in some economic and social difficulties (higher prices, employment problems, etc). The course of the reform will thus have to be watched closely, so that the anomalies that will arise can be eliminated.

The giving of autonomy to socialized enterprises at the same time makes it possible—and necessary—to develop authentic workers self-management. Our union thinks that the establishment of workers self-management bodies in socialized enterprises is an indispensable element of economic reform.

The self-management bodies in these enterprises should have sufficient legal authority to make effective decisions about the functioning and operations of the enterprise. Therefore, they should have the right to exercise control over the assets of the concern, to decide on the aims of production and sales, the choice of production methods, and investment goals. They should also decide on the distribution of the profits of the enterprise.

Particular solutions to these questions will depend on, among other things, the size and character of the enterprise in question. But one thing is especially necessary: involvement of the workers self-management bodies in the recruitment and dismissal of directors (through competitive examinations, evaluation, or direct appointment). The problem of workers self-management should be the subject of wide discussion in the union.

Our union will be socially subsidiary to the workers self-management bodies and will support them fully. But there must be a clear separation between the union organization and the self-management body, based on the principle that the union will primarily defend the interests of the workers while the self-management body will represent and be responsible for the economic and productive interests of the enterprise. The self-management bodies must consult with the union in all matters regarding division of the concern's income that affect the workforce.

The union thinks that economic reform should be carried out as quickly, completely, and democratically as possible. But we especially think that the introduction of reforms cannot be postponed until after our economy has achieved full stability. Therefore a program must be quickly drawn up to halt the tendency toward economic decline. In order to make it possible to begin economic reforms, it is also necessary to restore a normal pace of work and to find areas of real cooperation, such as improving the economic functioning of the enterprise, discovering the most appropriate forms of self-management, combating alcoholism, etc.

3. The main problems of social policy

The danger exists that the living conditions of the population will worsen in 1981. Above all, the foreign trade situation is likely to deteriorate further. It is not certain that our country will obtain the \$10-\$11 billion in additional credits that we need this year, of which \$6-7 billion is needed for repayment of loans, \$3-4 billion for payment of the interest on loans, and \$1 billion to cover the current deficit.

If this credit is not raised, then production can fall considerably, having an immediate impact on consumption levels. The possibilities for increasing consumption by altering the distribution of the national income—that is, by reducing investment in favor of consumption—are extremely limited, since no further restrictions can be imposed on investment in such important nonproductive areas as housing, health care, and

education.

There is a threat of a complete disorganization of the consumer market. The financial income of the population grew in 1981 in relation to 1980, but the supply of manufactured goods is unsatisfactory. In addition, 1981 may not be a good year for agriculture, since it has not yet been possible to restock the herds that were depleted in 1980. In practical terms, then, the total annual increase in the income of the population will find no corresponding increase in goods available for purchase.

A. The state's legal responsibility for the costs of the crisis and of reform

The view of our union is that the responsibility for the effects of the crisis and for the reforms to be introduced rests with the state, regardless of whether the economic reform assures real autonomy for economic enterprises or what form that takes. This is because the state does, in practice, directly organize the economic life of Poland. The obligation to protect the population from the effects of the crisis therefore rests precisely with the state and its agencies, regardless of what activities the various unions and social organizations undertake. It is on this basis that the union will judge the state bodies.

The government has not presented a program for leading the country out of the crisis. The plan for 1981 recently adopted by the Sejm did not take up the crucial problems. The long promised stabilization plan still does not exist. Our union and the public in general have not even received a report on the state of the economy. This inaction is sure to cause the crisis to deepen. The government should immediately present a program to lead the country out of the crisis and submit this program for nationwide discussion.

Faced with the indifference of the authorities, our union is compelled to launch its own initiative. We do not aim to substitute for the government. We just want to indicate, in principle, the direction that economic and social policy should take—a direction which is of fundamental importance from the point of view of the working people and which at the same time will decisively affect many aspects of the country's economic situation.

Solidarity—understanding that the country's economy is in really desperate straits—will not advance major wage or social demands in 1981. But it does expect that:


- the basis for the government's economic policies—particularly in areas relating to the union's most immediate in-

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Lining up for meat in Poland

Continued from preceding page

terests—will be established in consultation with the union,

- the government will commit itself to consistently carry out a reform program that will guarantee for the future a fairly rapid and balanced pace of economic development (we will present the general principles of this reform in the next section),

- and the economic policy of the government will in fact—and not just in words—respect the principle that the average level of real income of the population will be maintained and that priority will be given to those groups that are in the weakest economic position.

B. The principle of the free market

Seven months after the signing of the strike accords, the main complaint of working people is the disastrous and constantly worsening state of the market. Empty store shelves and commercial warehouses place a question mark over our wage gains. Lengthening shopping lines and the emergence of the black market disrupt family life.

In this situation, increasing the supply of commonly used items is indispensable and necessary. But a rapid improvement in the supply of all rationed items is not yet possible. In this situation, two proposals for immediate solutions should be considered and discussed. The first raises the possibility of broadening regulation of the market (through the ration cards). The second is categorically opposed to the introduction and maintenance of this system.

The first proposal recognizes the need for a healthy market, and in particular that to pay what farmers demand will change wholesale and retail prices. It views ration cards, however, as a necessary evil. In a situation of substantial shortages, money cannot be the only way to regulate the distribution of goods. Without the ration card, it will be hard to guarantee a minimum supply of basic goods, especially for those with low incomes.

The second proposal is against the extension of rationing to cover more items and ventures the possibility of a rapid elimination of existing regulation, since introduction of ration cards has resulted in hoarding in some households and shortages in others, and this undermines the role of wages as an inducement to good work. According to this proposal, a much better way of regulating the market than use of ration cards is to employ the mechanism of prices, which in each case should be enacted with social approval.

Both proposals should be the subject of broad discussion within the union.

We demand the complete realization in 1981 of all the government's obligations, stated in the strike agreements, in the sphere of social wages. In particular, we expect very quick action to introduce the principle of a social minimum into the process of income formation in the areas of wages, pensions, and rents, as well as enlargement of family allowances and the extension of maternity leave. We do not, however, want to advance any new changes in wage levels.

It is especially important that the costs of reform not fall in any way on the shoulders of our least well-off citizens. It is necessary to define the minimum average requirements of people depending

on their age and family status. This appropriate minimum should be controlled and modified in light of changes in the availability of goods on the market, their prices, and consumption patterns.

The areas of poverty in our society cannot be allowed to expand. We should insist that minimum welfare be guaranteed by the government to everyone in Poland, regardless of whether they work or are unable to work. It is also necessary that every living person under this minimum be assured state financial and material assistance. The union, for its part, will supervise the amount paid to ensure this minimum level and the criteria by which that amount is determined, as well as the implementation by the state of a program to protect the minimum welfare of all citizens.

We are aware that even such a modest program would add to the supply of money in the hands of the population without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods [i.e., be inflationary]. But in our opinion these measures must be undertaken, since that is the only way the material situation of the worst-off part of the population can be improved.

In considering this problem we need to remember that—although a substantial amount of money would be involved in raising the standard of living of those who are now below the minimum, enlarging family allowances, extending maternity leave, reevaluating rents and pensions, etc.—this sum would represent only a small part of the money in the hands of the population. Thus, to abandon these programs would contribute only slightly to the stabilization of the market. And that would be accomplished at the expense of those who are in the worst material position. Our union would never agree to that kind of economizing.

A correct practical application of the principle of a minimum level of welfare requires that the public become actively involved in this matter.

Related to the problem of the minimum is the question of the maximum. Of

necessity, there must be a limit on income levels, and exceeding that limit will not be tolerated. In this connection, we demand, among other things, the annulment of the 1972 decree that resulted in a departure from our general principles by giving very high pensions and benefits to privileged individuals and their families.

D. The principle of proportional liability for the costs of the crisis

Social justice demands that the costs of the crisis and of the necessary reforms be distributed evenly among all citizens, that is, in proportion to their means. Poland is a country that has a wide range of income levels among different social groups. That is why the costs of the crisis should be shouldered more by those with higher incomes than by those with lower ones. This should be taken into account in the system of wage and tax increases.

There is no one—regardless of the government position he may hold—who may be exempted from the application of this principle. Its implementation should be under the supervision of the union and of other social organizations. That requires a detailed discussion in view of the specific needs, aspirations, and traditions in each individual occupational area. Above all, this means that in the process of applying the correct principle, certain highly qualified and self-sacrificing groups of professional workers must not be deprived of their sense of self-worth and the incentive to increase their productive efforts.

The costs of the program to restore equilibrium should, in the first place, fall on the shoulders of the most well-off groups, especially those who benefit from privileges flowing from the exercise of authority. The union should press this policy calmly but with determination, for in the 1970s there began a sharp rise in social inequality, and the privileges of those in authority swelled to even greater dimensions. And yet this very group is directly responsible for the current state of our country. The maintenance of such privileges for state officials is socially dangerous and in the present situation extremely immoral. Because of their privileges, the people wielding power are divorced from the realities of the actual day-to-day life of the population. They are alienated from society and are in no position to understand its problems.

In light of the economic situation and the demands of social justice, we feel it necessary to present to the authorities the following demands:

- the introduction of a universal, compulsory, and progressive tax to equalize incomes, in cases where the total family income exceeds the average monthly wage,

- the taxation of exorbitant wealth (luxury cars, vacation homes, etc.),
- the restriction of unwarranted material privileges for those in the ruling apparatus (apartments, official cars, special medical services, etc.) and the publicizing of the incomes and property holdings of people occupying positions in the apparatus.

The measures for redistribution of income proposed above, as well as the system of compensating people for higher prices (providing full compensation only for people in the most difficult material situation) will make possible both the elimination of the inequalities that society will no longer accept and the financing of the most essential social programs. The adoption of all these measures will also open the road toward restoration of a stable market.

The union is aware that the market must be stabilized step by step, but it must be done as quickly as possible. We are also aware that this cannot be achieved only through stepped-up production and increased deliveries to the market. Higher prices are inevitable. We take that into account. But price increases can lead to a decline in real wages.

This situation presents our union with problems in taking a position. Full compensation for higher costs of living resulting from price increases should apply to those with the lowest incomes, and should not, in general, be given to those with the highest incomes. However, on the question of average incomes, which are the majority, it is necessary to consider two alternatives: either to compensate them for part of the higher cost of living and in that way improve the stability of the market, or compensate them in full, thus aggravating the market situation and delaying an end to the crisis. Both solutions should be widely discussed in the union.

It is certainly not proper to provide compensation for higher prices on luxury items, as well as tobacco and alcohol.

The problem of determining compensation for higher prices must be carried out in a comprehensive way, in accordance with the relevant points in the strike agreements. This system of compensation should be worked out in detail with the union and should be presented for a public discussion, since the degree of social acceptance and effectiveness for either method of calculating and paying compensation for higher living costs will depend on people having a choice as to which is the most appropriate.

E. The universal right to work

The first difficulties on the labor market have already made themselves felt and as the crisis becomes worse we can expect to see the appearance of un-

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employment in some areas and among some sectors of the population. It should also be kept in mind that during the first period of the introduction of economic reform, this problem will be a source of particular difficulties and will require that the union commit itself to close cooperation with management at the workplace and with the central economic authorities.

The problem of unemployment will demand a division of labor between the enterprises and the central economic authorities. While the enterprises would have the right to alter their employment levels as they need to, the central authorities are responsible for maintaining full employment for the entire workforce through an active policy of creating new jobs, as well as raising funds to cover the costs of retraining workers and of providing assistance to those workers released by an enterprise. Alongside this, it is necessary to initiate a program of occupational readjustment, financed by the state but subject to the approval and control of the union.

At the same time, an important and very difficult matter is the provision of suitable jobs for graduates from all types of schools. This requires analysis of how to utilize qualified workers, replace those who do not have proper training, transfer experienced workers in a prudent manner, ensure greater mobilization of workers on a national level, and so on. A particular difficulty in the current year and in years to come will be the situation facing young people graduating from vocational and technical institutions.

Implementing the above proposals can be a source of serious strains and even social injustice, requiring advance thought and discussion by particular professional circles, depending on the probable severity of the employment difficulties in each particular sphere. The union should likewise take under consideration the desirability, and perhaps also the necessity, of organizing under its own authority an extensive, long-term program for occupational adjustment.

F. Improving labor conditions

Economic reform leading to the establishment of autonomous enterprises freed from the system of commands and directives must be accompanied by steps to achieve basic improvements in the working conditions of the labor force. Currently, a substantial number of workers labor under conditions that are strenuous or dangerous to their health. The enterprises should be obligated to set aside a percentage of their amortization and development funds for the improvement of working conditions. This percentage should be determined by the workers self-management bodies, and the minimum level should be defined by law.

In regard to the numerous cases of health and safety violations in workplaces discovered by health supervisory agencies (toxic agents, dust, noise, high temperature, etc.), it is necessary to demand that Poland ratify the International Labor Organization's convention no. 148 of 1977 on the question of protecting workers against polluted air, dust, vibration, and crowding and that there be strict compliance with existing Polish regulations on the protection of workers according to the terms of this convention.

An important factor in properly organizing work in the enterprises and in the entire economy is to shorten labor time. This will provide a strong stimulus to a more effective organization of the enterprises and encourage workers to work more efficiently. During negotiations on the next stage of shortening labor time, it will be necessary to call on the heads of enterprises and economic administrations to draw up concrete plans for more organizational efficiency and technical undertakings to bring about a reduction in the hours of the work day.

(Next week: democratic rights)

Canadian labor party leader says halt U.S. arms to Salvador junta

By Bob Braxton

For two weeks in late May and early June, Ed Broadbent, leader of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP), toured Central America and the Caribbean as part of an effort by the Socialist International to seek a "political solution" to the civil war in El Salvador. Broadbent's proposals for international mediation of the conflict were rejected out of hand by the Salvadoran junta and by the U.S. State Department.

The following major excerpts from an article in the June 29 issue of the Canadian fortnightly 'Socialist Voice', report on the role that Broadbent has been playing in building the solidarity movement with El Salvador since returning to Canada.

During the week June 15-21, NDP Leader Ed Broadbent stepped up his attack on U.S. arms to the Salvadoran junta and Canadian complicity.

Speaking in Montreal June 18, Broadbent brought home the horror of the civil war in El Salvador: "So far in that war in Salvador there have been in numbers killed [in the last 18 months] the equivalent . . . of the number of Canadians who were killed throughout World War Two. Twenty-two thousand deaths in El Salvador compare . . . with the 45,000

Canadians who were killed in the Second World War when you consider the fact that the population of El Salvador is about half of what it was in Canada at that time."

He disputed the U.S. thesis of the war being a product of an "international Communist conspiracy." "It's as absurd to say that the civil war in El Salvador was created by some people or indeed by some arms that are coming from the outside as it would be absurd to say that the French revolution in 1789 occurred because certain Frenchmen happened to read the revolutionary tracts published by the Americans in 1776," Broadbent argued.

"A revolution is occurring today in Central America because the situation is unjust, because millions of people are suffering."

The NDP leader disputed the claim that the Duarte government is a government of the "center" opposed to the violence of the "far left and far right." Quoting the findings of the legal advisor to the Archbishop of San Salvador, he said that "80 to 90 percent of the [terroristic] killings have been done by the security forces which are under the control . . . of the government of Duarte."

Broadbent defended the Salvadoran people arming themselves in self-defense: "When a people is repressed . . . if that people has no recourse but to get

arms from another country because the United States is supplying the junta, I say it would be immoral to condemn those people for getting arms to protect their lives."

As for the Duarte government's promise to hold free elections, a "democratic solution" championed by the U.S. and Canadian governments, Broadbent insisted that "it is a total mockery of democracy to pretend that you can have elections in a country where 22,000 people have been killed in the last 18 months [and where] the slaughter is going on daily."

"Can you have an election in that country now, when no candidate left of Genghis Khan would dare present himself as a candidate?" Broadbent asked. "A genuine democrat wants peace first and then you have elections. Those who are talking about elections are attempting to deceive us."

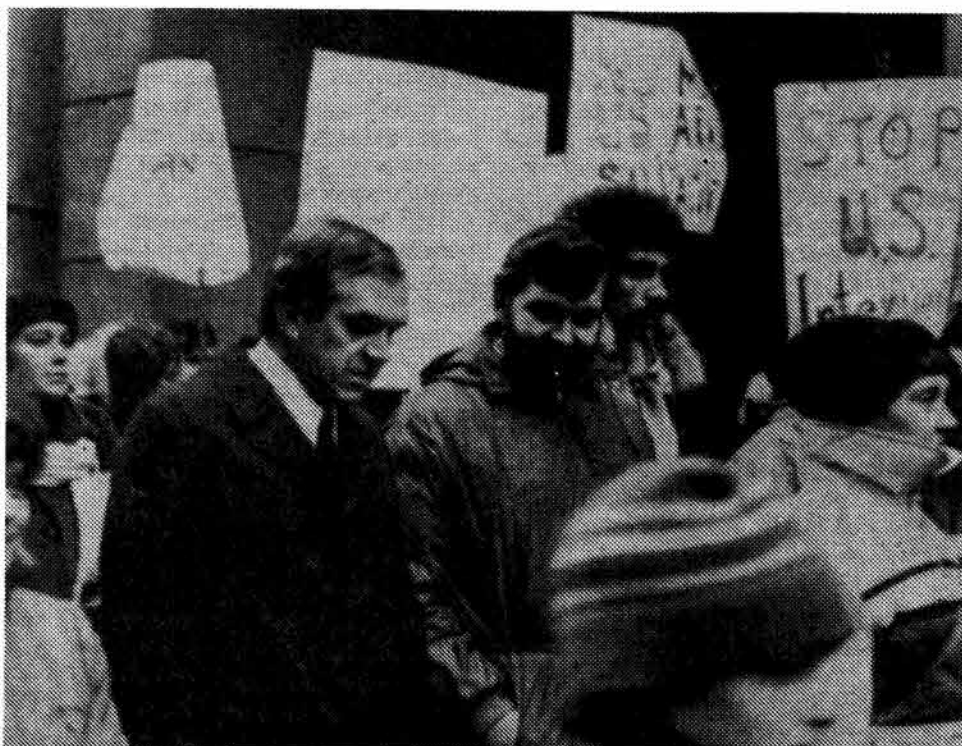
Outspoken opposition to U.S. arms to El Salvador by the New Democratic Party and the El Salvador solidarity movement in Canada is beginning to pay off.

On June 16, Broadbent introduced a motion in the House of Commons calling on the Canadian government to change its stance and support a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. Despite the arrogant rejection of these proposals by Canada's External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan, Broadbent's stand won wide support throughout the country.

In an editorial entitled "Glory, honor, praises to NDP Leader El Broadbent," the June 19 Montreal daily *La Presse* editorialized, "One would have to go a long way back in Canada-U.S. relations to find comparable audacity and courage among Canadian parliamentarians." The same day, CTV-Montreal reported that a number of Liberal backbenchers in the House now oppose the Canadian government's position.

At the Montreal meeting June 18, the NDP leader spoke on a common platform with former Parti Québécois immigration minister Jacques Couture. This is an important step for the solidarity movement, since the NDP and the PQ are the two major Canadian political parties which oppose the Canadian-U.S. government position and support the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Echoing Broadbent's stand, Couture called for "a vast interparty movement to rally deputies and militants of every party and mobilize provincial governments" to the cause of El Salvador.



NDP leader Ed Broadbent protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador at February demonstration in Canada.

Mitterrand blasts Washington's policy



FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

Newly elected French President François Mitterrand has sharply criticized U.S. policy in Central America.

"The people of the region want to put an end to the oligarchies that, backed by bloody dictatorships, exploit them and crush them under intolerable conditions," Mitterrand said in a July 1 interview with the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"A tiny part of the population owns almost everything," Mitterrand said. "How is it not possible to understand this popular revolution?"

Referring to Washington's charges against Central American revolutionaries, Mitterrand said that "it is not at all a question of Communist subversion. . . . It is a question of the people's refusal to submit to misery and humiliation."

In a July 1 dispatch from Paris, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal reported that "American officials who have had intensive re-

cent contacts with French officials have let it be known here that the Reagan administration is seriously concerned about this kind of French approach, especially were it to become translated into militant policy."

"These officials have left the impression that such policy differences on Central America . . . could be as damaging to bilateral relations as Mitterrand's inclusion of four communist ministers in the new French government."

Referring to the *Le Monde* interview with Mitterrand, Randal noted that "although West Germany's Social Democratic leadership was uneasy, no major U.S. ally until now has voiced such public reservations about U.S. policy in Central America."

United Press International reported from Paris July 2 that "Mitterrand's Socialist Party today promised 'total support' to two visiting Salvadoran leftist leaders in their fight against their nation's United States-backed Government."

By Margaret Jayko

The June 25 Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of registration and the draft was another successful step by the Reagan administration down the road toward war.

The big-business media, however, universally said that what was on the line was the question of women's equality and the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). They barely mentioned that this decision gave the government a green light to attempt to prosecute those who have not registered and brought us closer to a reinstitution of the draft itself.

As a step toward war, the decision was a blow to women's rights and the rights of all working people.

As many antidraft activists have pointed out, being drafted is not a "right" to be fought for, but a violation of our rights, which should be opposed.

Passing the ERA would not mean women would be drafted.

But reinstitution of the draft would make it harder to defend our living standards and democratic rights, never mind winning new gains like the ERA.

Because if the government is able to bring back conscription, it will mean they have strengthened their hand in the battle to force us to sacrifice our interests for the "national interests."

Carter sets the trap

How did the questions of the draft and the fight for women's rights get so mixed up together to begin with?

In 1971, several draft-age men filed a lawsuit asking that the draft be declared unconstitutional because it only included men.

Subsequently, as a result of massive opposition to the draft and the Vietnam War, conscription was abolished in 1973.

Then, in February 1980 Carter moved to reinstitute draft registration and proposed that women be included—in the name of women's equality.

The rulers' intent was to win support for the draft and the military—whose image had been badly tarnished in the eyes of the American people—by giving them a "progressive" veneer.

The hope was that millions of people, especially women, could be persuaded that the imperialist military was simply one more liberal employer who courageously subscribed to the "equal opportunity" code; that the military was an avenue through which women, Blacks, and Latinos could overcome the racism and sexism of this society.

An editorial in the *New York Times* explained it outright, "No long-term military draft is likely to achieve public support unless it is *perceived fair*, involving *equal sacrifice*" (emphasis added).

Thus equal rights was perverted into the concept of equality of sacrifice. Men and women should have the "equal right" to fight and die for big oil.

The rulers also wanted to weaken the fight for the ERA by linking it with the unpopular idea that passage will mean this time they'll take our daughters as well as our sons.

They also hoped to divide and confuse opponents of the draft and supporters of equal rights by focusing discussion on *who should be drafted* instead of *whether there should be a draft at all*.

No-win situation

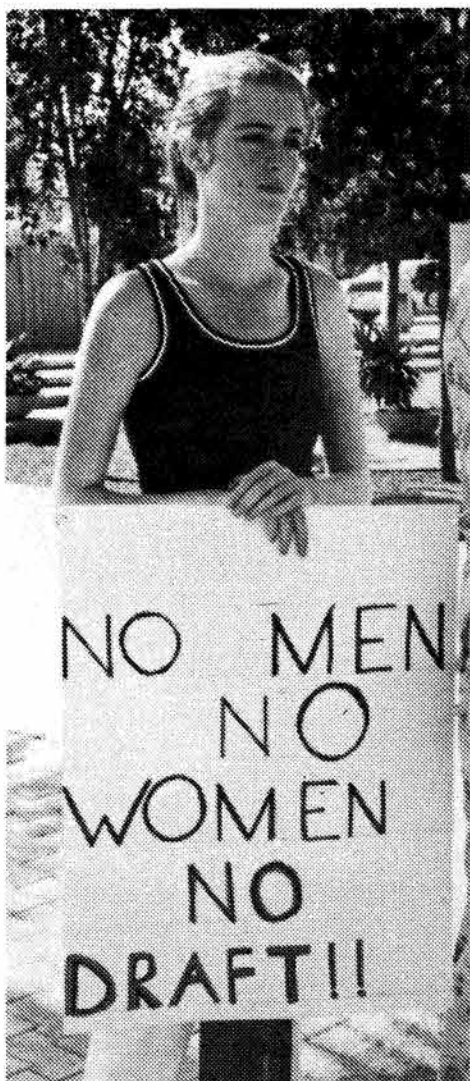
In this context, the 1971 lawsuit was revived and, whatever the intentions of the plaintiffs, it played into this ruling-class strategy.

Clearly, the lawsuit was a no-win situation for women, opponents of the draft, and all working people. No matter what the outcome, one thing was certain: the government would win and we would lose.

If the court ruled the draft unconstitutional unless it included women, many would have mistakenly hailed it as a big victory for women's rights. The rulers would have succeeded in legitimizing a massive expansion of registration and the draft under the guise of striking a blow for women's equality.

The way the Supreme Court did rule, they were able to hand down a strong

Where NOW's position goes wrong Should women fight to be included in the draft?



Militant/Andrea Baron

pro-draft decision while many opponents of the draft were looking the other way, discussing something else.

For years it was right-wing opponents of the ERA who peddled the line that the ERA means women would be drafted. They did this to undercut support for the amendment. Now, many leaders of the women's movement have adopted this same line.

Many have largely accepted the framework that women must "prove" they deserve equality by being ready to fight and die. This is in contradiction to their stated opposition to the draft and militarism.

NOW leadership

Most outspoken have been leaders of the largest women's rights organization in the country—the National Organization for Women.

Eleanor Smeal, NOW's president, was widely quoted in the media when the decision came down.

She explained, "Our organization and many women's organizations are actually peace advocates. We don't want to be soldiers. What we really wanted was that the system be fair."

That's like saying you're against the death penalty but if there is one you want executions to be "fairly" distributed between men and women.

There's no way that a military whose job is to protect the privileges of the wealthy few who run this country can be "fair" about it.

And massively expanding the draft to include women would not be "fair"—it would be a big setback for supporters of women's rights and opponents of war.

NOW's national board went so far as to file a friend-of-the-court brief in this case, as did several other women's organizations.

The NOW brief argues that "this case poses an issue of critical importance to the achievement of full equality between the sexes."

The brief was filed without any organ-

ized discussion or vote by the NOW membership, many of whom oppose the draft for men and women and think the ERA has nothing to do with women being drafted.

Support the draft?

The basic premise of the brief is that "the exclusion of women from registration disserves the goal of an effective military and powerfully enforces harmful stereotyped beliefs about women and their role in our society."

The brief then goes on to marshal arguments to prove these assumptions.

These are directly counterposed to the women's movement's traditional position that the fight for equality is part of the fight for a better life for all the oppressed and exploited.

By accepting the government's line that conscription and war are necessary, that women's interests and "national interests" are identical, and that registration of women is a "right," the brief points the women's movement in the direction of becoming a prop instead of an opponent of the status quo.

In fact, it even approvingly quotes Senator Nancy Kassebaum, Republican from Kansas, explaining that registering women will make them more committed to "our Nation and its principles."

The brief endorses the idea of a draft army to serve imperialism's needs: "Compulsory universal military service is central to the concept of citizenship in a democracy."

And: "Indeed, the responsibility to bear arms in a time of national peril is 'the ultimate duty of American citizenship.'"

But concepts like "citizenship," "a democracy," "responsibility," and "national peril" cannot be abstracted from the class character of the government that's defining them.

All wars the U.S. rulers force us into are carried out in the name of national defense.

'National defense'?

The main question is, whose interests are served by the "national defense" of the U.S. today?

Should we be fighting for the "right" to butcher our brothers and sisters in El Salvador?

Is the goal of the women's movement to have women generals lead a bloody invasion of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Kampuchea, or Iran to turn back revolutions that have meant big advances for women and all working people?

NOW should oppose the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador, just like it opposed the war in Vietnam.

An unsigned article appearing in the May *National NOW Times*, NOW's official newspaper, tries to downplay the horrors of war.

The *National NOW Times* says: "The modern military is not one of foxholes and trenches. The modern military is one of computers, nuclear vessels, long-range weaponry, and highly technical equipment."

Ladies wouldn't even have to get their hands dirty.

In that same article, the real dangers facing the men who are forced to register are pooh-poohed. They say it's a myth that "all men between the ages of 18-26 are 'at risk' because they are asked [sic] to register."

But they are at risk. Millions of people—Vietnamese and American—died in the Vietnam War. And is it comforting to know that the next one might involve "highly technical equipment" like nuclear weapons—launched by women?

The brief argues that drafting women would improve our status in society.

To prove this, they point to the Black struggle.

The *National NOW Times* asserts: "As the blacks found in the pursuit of their civil rights, full equality in the service is a mandate for full equality in society."

But Blacks were forced to fight and die in Vietnam out of proportion to their numbers in the population. And it certainly did not lead to greater equality in society. The political and economic situation of Blacks in this country is rotten and getting worse. The large numbers of Blacks who are dragooned into the "volunteer" army out of economic compulsion reflects the worsening of the situation for Black America.

Women cops

Among the most reactionary arguments the brief uses to "prove" women are able to fight, and therefore "de-



Edward W. Suba, Jr.

Cops attack United Auto Workers picket line at Bailey Controls in Wickliffe, Ohio. Would it be an advance for women's rights if two of these cops were female?

serve" to be drafted, is the following footnote: "Studies testing women police officers' ability to command respect, use authority, respond with force when necessary and face physical and often armed resistance are also persuasive evidence that women possess the skills required for combat."

Should we be proud of the fact that women cops can harass and murder Black and Latino youth and attack union picket lines equally "well"?

If that's equality, how will we ever win union sisters and brothers, oppressed minorities, and youth to our side?

Why fight for equality at all?

Reagan and his ilk know damn well that women can fight.

There were plenty who fought against Washington in Vietnam and they're doing it today in El Salvador.

The brief also argues that a major cause of the oppression of women is the small number of women who are in the military. Thus, a draft would be good to change that.

But the reason for our second-class status is that big business profits in a big way from our oppression and super-exploitation.

The same big business that will profit handsomely from any war waged by Washington.

'Trim' the war budget

The front page of the April *National NOW Times* has an article entitled "Military Budget Increase Doubled."

They ask, "Are we forced to make a choice between human needs and the military?"

Their answer is no.

The article says, "It is axiomatic that any budget as large as the Pentagon's is bound to have waste."

Then it approvingly quotes "military experts" on how to trim some of the fat while still maintaining a multi-billion-dollar arsenal.

And it concludes with this statement from a retired admiral: "It is difficult to measure how much military spending is enough. But it is clear that spending is excessive if the nation's political, social, or economic fabric is weakened in the process."

Any spending on imperialist wars is excessive, and there is no other kind fought by the U.S. military.

And it's always financed by cutting back on human needs.

With the deepening economic crisis of their system, the two are more and more mutually exclusive.

New perspective needed

The rulers of this country are trying to reverse the widespread antiwar sentiment among the American people that makes it harder for them to launch new wars.

NOW's position of support to the draft and military helps them sell another Vietnam.

It makes it easier for the Democrats and Republicans to implement their bipartisan foreign and domestic policies of war, austerity, and attacks on democratic rights.

It makes it easier for them to attack women's rights.

State legislators use the linking of the ERA with the draft as an excuse to defeat ratification efforts.

The need for strong "national security" is a primary argument used for the budget cuts and attacks on democratic rights.

By giving credence to the need for a strong military, the NOW leadership is forced to begin tailoring the demands of the women's movement to fit the needs of those in power.

And worst of all, it isolates the women's movement from our only true and effective allies—working people, Blacks, Latinos, farmers, students, and other victims of the government and bosses.

The NOW leadership is on a dangerous course and a discussion is urgently needed among all NOW members.

Reversing NOW's current position on the draft is a vital part of effectively organizing a fightback against the bipartisan attacks on women.

Replies to S.F. Examiner

NOW answers red-baiting smear

By Anne Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—The board of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women voted overwhelmingly July 18 to send a letter to the *San Francisco Examiner*. The letter protests an article published July 16 under the headline, "NOW chapter torn by dispute over socialists."

The article alleged that San Francisco NOW was "in danger of breaking up because of some members' fears that the traditionally moderate feminist group is being taken over by the Socialist Workers Party."

The board challenged the *Examiner's* attempt to divide and weaken the women's movement. It affirmed that NOW is a diverse, nonexclusionary group that welcomes all fighters for women's rights.

It refuted the claim that San Francisco NOW is on the brink of collapse, pointing out that the chapter is rapidly winning new members.

San Francisco NOW is one of the largest and most active chapters.

At its July membership meeting the chapter voted to submit three resolutions to the upcoming national NOW convention in October—calling for a national demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in the spring of 1982, a national conference on abortion rights, and shifting NOW's position to one of unequivocal opposition to the draft and draft registration—whether for men only or for both men and women.

These resolutions had the support of the vast majority of NOW members at the meeting, including SWP members.

In recent months differences have emerged in the chapter over how to defend women's rights against growing attacks.

Some members oppose a strategy that utilizes mass action as part of attempting to involve broader layers of women (especially working women), the Black and Latino communities, and the unions in the struggle.

Some in NOW criticize this strategy, urging more emphasis on supporting Democratic Party candidates or use of civil disobedience tactics as alternative approaches in responding to attacks on women's rights.

The *Examiner* article quoted two NOW members, Linda Festa and Rusty Kramer, as accusing SWP members of "disruptive tactics," "packing meetings," and having a "hidden agenda" to "manipulate NOW."

Festa is one of those who has been increasingly critical of using mass action tactics. She recently resigned as chair of the abortion rights committee, one of the most active committees in San Francisco NOW.

Anne Menasche is a member of the San Francisco National Organization for Women and of the Socialist Workers Party.



Militant Sonja Franeta

San Francisco rally for women's rights. Far from collapsing, as 'San Francisco Examiner' would portray it, local NOW chapter is rapidly winning new members.

cisco NOW. The committee is organizing an October 3 march and rally for abortion rights.

The *Examiner* quoted Festa as saying, "I quit the committee because I believe the SWP is attempting to use NOW as a political arm of its own organizations."

Their dedication is not to feminism but the Socialist Workers Party."

Kramer was quoted as charging that SWP members rarely identify themselves as such "and build alliances by making friends with unsuspecting members."

The lies in the *Examiner* article are the language of red-baiting. Women in the SWP who are members of NOW are committed feminists. They are among the most dedicated and hard-working fighters for women's rights. Unlike the Democrats and Republicans in Congress and state legislatures, who have systematically sabotaged ERA ratification, the SWP has been actively fighting for the ERA.

Far from hiding our views, socialists in NOW openly seek to convince others of the need for a socialist society, while joining with women of many views to fight for equal rights now.

Many NOW members expressed anger at these charges, which portray them as dupes lacking sufficient intelligence to make their own decisions. Red-baiting is an attempt to raise the specter of "communist takeover" in order to obscure real political differences and avoid a real debate.

Red-baiting is an attack not only on socialists, but on the women's movement as a whole. It aims at intimidating all NOW members from freely considering all positions on the best way to defend women's rights, and from expressing their own views. And red-baiting can have the effect of scaring away those who would otherwise join NOW or participate in NOW activities.

Attempts to divide the women's movement through red-baiting play into the hands of the enemies of women's rights. The likes of Phyllis Schlafly and Ronald Reagan are pleased by the appearance of articles like the one in the *Examiner*.

In the spring of 1972, while women were marching in the streets for abortion rights, the FBI circulated a pamphlet entitled "Exploitation of the Women's Movement by the Socialist Workers Party." Using charges similar to those contained in the *Examiner* article, the pamphlet aimed to divert the women's movement from fighting for abortion rights into a divisive witch-hunt against socialists.

We cannot afford to be divided in this way. Especially when we have less than a year to fight for ratification of the ERA. When we are faced with the threat of passage of measures that outlaw abortion. And when thousands of women are being attracted to NOW because they want to fight back.

The stand taken by the San Francisco NOW board helps strengthen and unify NOW for the battles ahead.

Racists assault Black pickets

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—On July 17, a little over a month after 100 racist thugs attacked a peaceful picket of minority construction workers, 800 Black and Latino unemployed construction workers were back on the street chanting, "Jobs, Jobs, we want jobs."

The protest, which took place in front of the Trump Towers Construction Project, was organized by Black Economic Survival (BES) and a number of other groups.

The picket line proceeded peacefully until racist goons inside the construction site began hurling bottles, food, and other debris on the demonstrators below.

Witnesses report seeing several goons

advance on the picketers with two-by-fours. When the picketers attempted to defend themselves, mounted police attacked them. An estimated eighteen protesters were injured as club-waving cops repeatedly charged.

"Seventy-five percent of the people here are union members," Ray Moses, assistant director of Staten Island BES, said of the picketers. But the federal and state laws that are supposed to give the Black worker an equal shot at these jobs are being ignored.

Natalie Davis, vice chairwoman of BES, told the *New York Times*, "We are asking that the construction company hire more minorities to bring the level to 33 percent and to put an equal opportunity officer at each project to assist in the hiring."

Mayor Koch's reaction to the demonstration was to call it "a case of extortion"—repeating the slanders that have been leveled against the BES by Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola. Both Koch and Merola ignore the fact that five trials in the last two years have completely exonerated the BES of such charges.

While Koch claims that the city, "will not tolerate people taking the law into their own hands," he is giving the cops and racist goons a free hand to violently help the construction bosses keep the industry white.

Moses Harris, executive director of BES, has vowed to continue protesting at the site, until 25 percent of the jobs there go to Black and Latino workers.

Solidarity with Central American revolutions

By Nelson González

Thousands of people all across the country marched and demonstrated July 19 in solidarity with the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution and in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The nationally coordinated day of solidarity was jointly sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua, the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

These demonstrations occurred at the time of an important new propaganda move by the Reagan administration.

The administration is attempting to defuse popular opposition to intervention in El Salvador and to demobilize the solidarity movement by projecting a fake "political solution" in El Salvador. Reagan's "settlement" would be tied to elections staged by the present dictatorship. This farce has been denounced worldwide.

The July 19 solidarity actions reflect the fact that a lot of people in the United States have not been fooled either.

In San Francisco, 5,000 people responded in a march through the mainly Latino Mission District on their way to Dolores Park for a rally. Sponsored by more than 100 Bay Area organizations, the march included busloads of activists from San Jose and other parts of the state.

One of the largest and best-organized of the contingents was that of the Irish solidarity organizations, including Irish



Militant/Lou Howort

July 19 actions deepen antiwar sentiment

Northern Aid and the Pierce and Connelly Fife and Drum band.

Speakers at the Dolores Park rally included representatives of the struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Others on hand were Leo Robinson from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Marie Linden of the Grey Panthers, and a representative of the American Indian Movement.

New York

In New York, a coalition of more than 100 organizations led by Casa Nicaragua, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala organized a march of 1,500 and an all-day solidarity fair and rally at Tompkins Square Park in the heart of

the Lower East Side Puerto Rican community.

At the solidarity fair more than 3,000 activists, many from the surrounding community, were able to collect information from a wide variety of information booths set up by antinuclear, women's, Black, and Latino organizations. Political groups were also widely represented.

A spirited rally and cultural performance included the well-known singing group "Nicarahuac," as well as poets from El Teatro Ambulante.

Speakers included Arnaldo Ramos from the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front; Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists; a speaker from the Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression; a

representative from Grenada; and Rev. Herbert Daughtry from the National Black United Front.

The highlight of the day was a speech by Angela Rosa Acevedo, a representative of the Council of State of Nicaragua and a member of the Nicaraguan Women's Association. She was greeted by a standing ovation.

When she called for a united front against intervention the crowd responded with another standing ovation.

Los Angeles

In Los Angeles, 2,000 people participated in the July 19 celebration.

Indianapolis activists organized a public meeting of more than 300 people with a number of trade union representatives participating. A representative of the Textile Workers Union spoke from the floor and urged solidarity activists to join with the labor movement in building the September 19 protest march in Washington, D.C., against Reagan's budget cuts, called by the AFL-CIO.

Milwaukee activists from the Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy organized a meeting of more than 350 people. It was reported that during last month alone, \$450,000 was raised in medical assistance for Nicaragua.

In cities such as Atlanta and Boston solidarity activists organized picnics and cultural events attended by hundreds of activists.

Many other meetings were organized during this very successful day of solidarity with Nicaragua and the Central American revolution.

...Salvador junta in disarray

Continued from back page

a pre-emptive strike against the civilian opposition. Such a sweep, it is feared, would take the repression to unprecedented levels."

In a major policy speech July 16, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders reiterated Washington's backing for the junta's election play.

"The Government of El Salvador has announced that it will hold presidential elections in 1983," Enders said. "Prior to that a constituent assembly to be elected in 1982 will develop a new constitution."

Enders, who directed the secret U.S. bombing of Cambodia in the late 1960s,

piously declared that "all parties that renounce violence should be encouraged to participate in the design of new political institutions and the process of choosing representatives for them."

Under the provisional election law recently adopted by the junta, political parties must present the names and addresses of 3,000 of their members in order to qualify for ballot status. Under the circumstances, this would mean providing the military with a ready-made hit list for its death squads.

Democratic veneer

The call for elections is intended to put a democratic veneer on the junta while it proceeds with its effort to wipe

out all opposition. Armed forces chief Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez spelled this out during a visit to Uruguay in late May.

The elections, he said, will be "the result of military victory against subversion." The Revolutionary Democratic Front could not participate, Gutiérrez said, because "it is not a political party but only the democratic facade of the guerrillas."

(During the same trip, Gutiérrez stopped off to pin El Salvador's highest military medal on Chilean dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet.)

FDR leader Rubén Zamora has termed the junta's call for elections "nothing more than an excuse to avoid a

real attempt at a political solution" (*El Salvador Alert*, July 1).

Zamora compared the move to the election call "made by [ex-dictator] General Romero back in 1979 when ORDEN, the paramilitary organizations, and the security forces were attacking and killing all the opposition forces. The same thing is occurring now. . . . In addition, there exists a state of siege in the country. The press and the media are completely controlled by the government. There is no possibility of our people expressing their views. It is in this climate that Duarte is calling for elections. This is clearly a farce."

From Intercontinental Press

What's Going On

INDIANA GARY

SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY LAWSUIT AGAINST THE FBI. Benefit barbeque. Sat., July 25, 3 p.m. 3780 Rhode Island. Donation: \$5. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

COME CELEBRATE 22 YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: José G. Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*; Tiffany Patterson, National Black Independent Political Party; Julio Quan, Guatemalan professor, Fulbright Scholar. Sat., July 25, 6 p.m. wine and cheese reception; 7 p.m. program; 8:45 p.m. disco. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$3. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OREGON PORTLAND

'THE NEW SCHOOL.' A Tricontinental film on Cuban literacy crusade. Sun., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

'I WILL FIGHT NO MORE FOREVER.' A film on the fight of the Nez Perce Indian Nation to retain their land in 1877. Sun., Aug. 9, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS HOUSTON

A TRIBUTE TO THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. An evening of Cuban food, slides, speakers, and music. Program: "Cuba Yesterday and Today"; "Cuba's Inspiration to Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador"; and "The Role of the U.S. Government and How We Can Defend the Cuban Revolution." Slides from Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. Sat., July 25, dinner 6:30 p.m., \$3 a plate. Program: 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Griggs Exit. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

WORKSHOP: 'REVOLUTION IN THE ARTS.' Cuban Mime Troupe, Olga Flores y Ramon. Mon., July 27, 7 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Friends Mime Theater, Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, and Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

NEW YORK

MARCH FOR IRISH HUNGER STRIKERS

Sat., August 8, 11:30 a.m.

Tenth Anniversary of Internment (detention without charge or trial in Northern Ireland)

Assemble: 8th Ave., between 32nd and 34th St.

March: on 6th Ave. to 59th and 5th Ave.

Rally: Grand Army Plaza

Initial co-sponsors: American Irish Unity Committee; American Committee for Human Rights in North of Ireland, Rockaway Park; Ancient Order of Hibernians No. 12, Rockaway; Irish National Caucus of New York; Mid-Manhattan Unit, Irish Northern Aid; New York H-Block/Armagh Committee; All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; Catholic Peace Fellowship; Ramsey Clark; Coalition for People's Alternatives; Christine Carmody-Arey, coordinator, New Jersey National Organization for Women; Inter-Communi-

ty Center for Justice and Peace; International Socialists; Mobilization for Survival Religious Task Force; New York Citizens Party; Paul O'Dwyer; Philip Wachtel, Democratic district leader 63rd A.D., New York; Peoples Anti-War Mobilization; Socialist Workers Party; Washington Square Methodist Church; Workers World Party; New York Mobilization for Survival; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick; Black Theology Project; Rev. Daniel Berrigan; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Communist Workers Party.

Part of a coordinated day of action in cities throughout the country. All groups and individuals welcome.

For more information: (212) 788-1990 or 436-4770.

Support Pennsylvania prisoners!

The following statement was received at the 'Militant' on July 17. It has been abbreviated for reasons of space.

The hunger strike at Western Penitentiary resumed on Friday, July 10, 1981, as members of the Pennsylvania Prisoners Union and other concerned prisoners at the State Correctional Institution at Western protest the abuses in the maximum security section of the prison.

The 30 or more men housed in this isolated section of the prison are kept locked in the 6 x 8 foot cells 23½ hours daily. They are forced to sleep on a concrete block topped with a thin mattress. The cells contain no window or other form of ventilation other than a barred door and window.

There is no light fixture or other furniture of any kind in these cells. The only light and fresh air comes from a naked bulb outside of each cell and 3 x 3 foot window panels in the building walls which are 15 feet from the front of the few cells they face. The men are forced to take their meals and defecate in these same cubicles.

The men are allowed out of these cells for only 25 minutes daily. The men receive a ten minute shower on Mondays and Fridays. Once a week the men receive a clean canvas pinstriped jumpsuit and one

clean sheet, towel and pillowcase. Whenever these men leave their cells they must have their hands on their heads and are accompanied by four club wielding guards.

The overwhelming majority of the men who are sent to this unit must stay here for six months. However, men have been known to stay here for five years or more.

[On June 15 the men went on a hunger strike, which they ended after promises of reforms were made by the superintendent of the prison.]

The Superintendent's concessions on July 9 were a meager step in improving the unbearable conditions in the hole: prisoners now have 3, instead of 2, showers weekly, and they no longer must move everywhere outside of their cells with their hands on their heads. Yet all other conditions and open-ended sentences in the hole endure. So as of July 10 the hunger strike is on!

Fight cruel and unusual punishment... express your protest to: Superintendent George Petsock, Western Penitentiary, Box 9901, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15233.

Write the men care of: Russell Shoats F-3855 or Kenny Boyd M-2891, Box 9901, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15233.

For more information contact: Prisoners Union Support Committee, Box 5185, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15206.



Wants to subscribe

I've been reading the *Militant* for several weeks now in the library and I'd like to subscribe. I'd also like more information on how I can become a member of the SWP or the YSA and the requirements for membership.

Thank you for your help. I have found your paper encouraging and inspiring.

R.S.
Springfield, Ohio

contributions to the social commentary we're discussing both here and in Britain.

They address many issues of importance. "Respectable Street" is about snotty, middle-class values; while "Generals and Majors" and "Living Through Another Cuba" address themselves to the capitalist powers' war drives.

Check these guys out—they've definitely got something to say.

Patricia Hefner,
Birmingham, Alabama

bourgeois press, though it has attracted much comment from scientists in the field.

O.O.
New York, New York

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Clash & XTC

Your recent article on the British rock band Clash and their sociopolitical commentary in their songs was interesting. The arts are a good way of expressing ideas on political situations.

There's another really good British rock act with ideas on current political situations that I think many *Militant* readers would find interesting. They are XTC—a name, unfortunately, quite unfamiliar to most people in the U.S.

XTC's sound is interesting. To me, they sound like a cross between early Beatles and early Kinks. Their latest, "Black Sea," contains many interesting, relevant

Radiation hazards

An article in the May 22 issue of *Science* suggests that radiation hazards have been greatly understated. It says that the government first obscured the data and then destroyed it (an unfortunate accident!), that opponents of atomic power are right when they say that any radiation is dangerous (the no-threshold argument), and that changes in exposure limits could further cripple the nuclear power industry. This continuing research, paid for by the Defense Nuclear Agency, has not been reported in the

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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tral Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

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OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, 52 Earle St., Central Falls. Zip: 02863.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

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THE MILITANT

Salvadoran junta in disarray Rebels hold ground, block military offensive

By Fred Murphy

Failure to make headway in military drives against the armed forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is causing desperation among El Salvador's rulers.

Disarray inside the military-Christian Democratic government has reached such a point that the economy minister recently fled to Miami after being criticized by the defense minister; death-squad terrorism has begun to strike middle-class neighborhoods as well as poor districts in the cities; and refugees from the fighting in the countryside are being herded into prisons.

Meanwhile, the regime is pressing ahead with its plan to hold "free elections" in 1982.

'Scorched-earth' attacks

Since March, the government has been launching "counteroffensives" or "clean-up operations" against FMLN strongholds across the northern tier of El Salvador. The results were summed up in the July 10 issue of the London-based *Latin America Regional Reports*:

At the end of April, the guerrillas claimed to control 10 to 15 per cent of the country, but now say that they dominate at least 30 per cent. FMLN spokesmen say that a corridor linking Metapán in the north-west to north-eastern Morazán has been established, and that during the June fighting over 1,000 members of the security forces were killed.

In [the central province of] San Vicente, for example, the FMLN forces held their positions against army attack, rather than tactically retreating in the face of the advance by government forces.

Commenting on the San Vicente fighting, Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), said that the government forces had been reduced to "using their helicopters as ambulances rather than military equipment."

Inability to rout the FMLN's armed units has caused the military to vent its frustration on the civilian population. On June 24 the FMLN General Command issued an urgent appeal to foreign governments and to Amnesty International and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to press the junta to "stop the indiscriminate massacre by the Salvadoran army against 5,000 in-



Salvador President José Napoleón Duarte (front row, second from right) poses for picture with junta earlier this year. Despite murdering thousands, the military tyrants—and their front man Duarte—are having trouble hanging onto power.

habitants in the province of San Vicente."

According to the FMLN, government troops had begun a "scorched-earth" operation, raining hundreds of 105mm and 120mm shells into fourteen villages in the northern part of the province. "The bombardments are uninterrupted and their target is everything that lives."

Refugees imprisoned

A study conducted by San Salvador's Central American University revealed July 16 that at least 300,000 Salvadorans have fled their homes or farms as a result of the civil war. About half of these were said to be dependent on charitable organizations such as the Red Cross, Green Cross, or church organizations.

One important refugee center was the plantation of La Bermuda north of the capital, where more than 2,000 persons had gathered and were being aided by the Green Cross.

On July 3, army troops forcibly evicted the refugees from La Bermuda and

burned the plantation's historic buildings to the ground. Some 500 of the refugees—including 300 children—were rounded up and transported to a penitentiary in the nearby town of Suchitoto. A National Guard major told Raymond Bonner of the *New York Times* that they had been imprisoned "because they are relatives of the guerrillas."

A week earlier Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García had told the *Times* that he considered "at least 15 percent" of the 30,000 refugees in camps in southern Honduras to be subversives. There is, García said, "a large sector that appears to be refugees and are simply terrorists, who go precisely to find refuge, and then return, commit their misdeeds, and go back."

Preparing for elections?

In the cities, the "death squads" linked to the armed forces continue their bloody work. Of the 316 victims reported in the first two weeks of July, most were men between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five. In his Sunday homily on July 12, acting Salvadoran Arch-

bishop Arturo Rivera y Damas said that more than seventy persons had been taken from their homes, "tortured and violently killed" during the preceding week.

Another Catholic bishop—who asked not to be identified—told Raymond Bonner of the *New York Times*: "I don't understand how governments that are called Communist, such as Poland and Nicaragua, don't kill workers or priests, but this Government, which calls itself Christian, has killed so many. . . ."

"The pity is that the United States supports this government because it is friendly to the United States. It's not friendly with its own people."

The *Latin America Regional Report* quoted earlier offered this explanation for the recent step-up in death-squad killings, which now amount to at least thirty a day:

"It is widely feared that the government may be preparing for the election, in which restrictions such as the curfew and state of siege would presumably have to be lifted, and that it is beginning

Continued on page 22

Calif. officials to widen chemical spraying

By George Johnson and Judy Stranahan

SAN JOSE—After spraying half a million people for days with the toxic insecticide Malathion in an attempt to eradicate Mediterranean fruit flies, officials here have expanded the area to be sprayed to include the city of Milpitas and San Mateo County.

They are also threatening to use stronger poisons.

Residents describe the situation here as "semi-martial law," with the National Guard and cops visible in large numbers in some areas. Officials fear attempts by residents to block helicopters from dousing communities with the cancer-causing chemical.

Despite the intimidating atmosphere—and a high-powered campaign by the government and media to convince us that Malathion is safe—there is significant opposition to the spraying.

Officials have never seriously considered existing alternative means of eradicating the so-called "medflies" that are infesting area fruit trees. One reason for this is that California agribusiness, the state's biggest industry, is owned in large part by the same companies that manufacture Malathion.

The media in this state seldom stray far from the interests of the owners of big agriculture. Opponents of spraying are often referred to in the media as "kooks." Talk-show hosts on KGO, a large radio station, have refused to put on callers who are against spraying, referring to them as "crazy."

Initially, Governor Jerry Brown took a public position against the spraying. He then claimed he had no choice but to go along when Reagan threatened to quarantine California produce if the spraying was not done. Many people are convinced Brown's opposition was only token, and some believe he was actually conniving with Reagan.

This view was given added credence when officials of Brown's administration threatened to jail local officials if they didn't provide airport and other facilities for the spraying.

Although many city councils throughout the county voted not to allow spraying, local officials now shrug and say they cannot defy the state and federal government.

There have been no public hearings on the hazards of spraying. The state medical board even withdrew its original statement on the risks of Malathion in favor of a weaker one at the time of the decision to spray.

There are safer methods of ridding produce of medflies, and these have been used in other states, such as Hawaii. But they have received scant attention from the media and government officials.

Not surprisingly, people are suspicious of government claims of safe

spraying. Further, their lives are disrupted because it is hazardous to drive while the aircraft are spraying—up to now, from midnight to 6 a.m. This ensures that every person who works second or third shift, and the vast majority of workers on day shift, have to drive through the spray.

Checkpoints to discover produce being taken from the area have caused traffic tie-ups four-and five-miles long.

Shop-floor discussions, according to socialist workers in local plants, are dominated by concern over the spraying and its effects. Newspaper articles about it are posted on bulletin boards, as are leaflets announcing protests.

Last week, thousands of residents of Santa Clara County joined demonstrations against the pesticide spraying. There have been demonstrations and a teach-in at Palo Alto; two rallies at San Jose city hall; and two actions in Cupertino.